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REPORT OF GOVERNOR BALTHASAR  
BOY ON MALACCA - 1678

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## Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca 1678.

Translated by M. J. BREMNER.  
With an Introduction and Notes by  
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### Introduction.

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This Report has been translated from a Dutch manuscript belonging to the library of the India Office, London, where I became acquainted with it while cataloguing a section of the manuscripts of that library. It formed part of a collection purchased in 1822, by the East India Company from the widow of Colonel Colin Mackenzie, having been presented to him in 1813 by Madame Caulier of Chilinching, near Batavia, from her family library. It has been described by me in some detail under No. 54 of the "Mackenzie Collection: Private" in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages belonging to the Library of the India Office* (1916), Vol. I, Pt. 1.

Being struck by the interest and historical value of the document, I put on record in the catalogue my opinion that it was deserving of publication. It was, therefore, a great satisfaction to me when, some time later, the Committee for Malay Studies of the Federated Malay States asked me to undertake the translation of it. Pressure of work connected with my other duties made it impossible for me to do this task myself, but I was fortunate in securing for the purpose a qualified translator in the person of Miss M. J. Bremner, to whose care and assiduity I wish to pay here a tribute which is well deserved. As her translation progressed, we revised it jointly, checking it with the original text and discussing all the many difficulties involved in it. After Miss Bremner had had her translation typed, a number of outstanding problems still remained, which I have done my best to clear up by means of such help as I was able to obtain; and I must accept my full share of responsibility for the outcome, while recording that by far the greater part of the labour and the credit are to be put to Miss Bremner's account.

The manuscript was an extremely troublesome one to deal with, being in archaic language, handwriting and spelling, full of abbreviations, by no means free from errors, and in many places almost illegible. It is too much to hope that all the difficulties thereby occasioned have been completely overcome; but if faults

remain, as doubtless some must have done, it is not due to any remissness on the part of the translator. The Indian Office manuscript is not unique. Other copies of this report exist in the Government Offices at Batavia and The Hague. In view of that fact Miss Bremner, being determined to make her translation as perfect as the circumstances permitted, made a special journey to The Hague and collated her work with the copy there preserved, thus clearing up some of the difficulties which she had encountered when dealing with the India Office copy.

The report is a good specimen of the kind of documents which it was the regular habit of Governors of Dutch settlements to prepare for the information of their successors. There are many such in the library of the India Office, but the others relate to places, such as the East Coast of Southern India, which do not directly concern the Committee for Malay Studies. The Malacca Report is a very full one. It contains a comprehensive survey not only of Malacca itself but of all the manifold Dutch activities centered in that town. If one compares it with the Portuguese account written by Barretto Resende about forty years earlier, the English version of which only takes up about eight pages in No. 60 of the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R.A.S.*, 1911 or even with the much longer description in Francois Valentyn's great work (translated in Nos. 13, 15, 16, and 22 of the same *Journal*), one realizes what a mass of fresh material is contained in Governor Bort's report. From it we get a clear view of the principles of Dutch policy and the details of Dutch administration in this part of the East. The meticulous care with which the servants of a great trading Company kept its accounts and endeavoured to increase its profits reminds one of the work of coral insects painfully and persistently building up an atoll, and is deserving of all praise. Whatever may have been the shortcomings of these trading officials, they certainly cannot have been due to lack of general orders and departmental instructions, for the report teems with such, and every little matter seems to have been well weighed and considered.

As for the general lines of Dutch policy, we have again to bear in mind that we are reading the records of a trading company. Unlike their Portuguese predecessors, the Dutch had no religious feud with their Muhammadan neighbours. But they had a great need of showing a good balance sheet to their Directors, and, in their view, which was perhaps a shortsighted one, the quickest way to that end was by the application of a system of strict monopoly in the trade of the more important articles of commerce. The chief of these, among the imports to the Malay Peninsula, were cotton piece goods, and, among the exports, tin. It was, therefore, their aim to confine to themselves as much as possible of the supply of piece goods from continental India to



the eastward, and likewise the control of the export of tin from the whole of the Peninsula. Besides this they endeavoured to take toll of all shipping passing through the Straits, and as far as in them lay they tried to compel it to call at Malacca. In pursuance of this policy, the Dutch East India Company imposed on the weak Malay States in their neighbourhood a number of contracts, some of which will be found in the report, whereby they acquired at the expense of these states specially favourable or exclusive trading privileges. When the Malay state, as sometimes happened, tried to evade its contractual obligations, the Dutch Company proceeded to exercise pressure by blockading its ports, or by other more or less drastic means.

For a power which was only in effective occupation of the town of Malacca, about half its present territory, and the Island of Dinding (Pangkor), to have attempted to carry out such a policy as this, may be deemed to have been a gross abuse and a defiance of all the principles of international law and common justice. And so no doubt it was. But the Dutch were acting quite in accordance with ancient precedent. The Portuguese before them had endeavoured to control all the trade that went through the Straits of Malacca, and so long as they kept the command of the seas in that part of the world they had practically succeeded in their endeavour. Again, in much earlier days, the same policy had been carried out by the great Sumatran State of Palembang, which from the 8th to the 13th century had possessed various out-stations on both sides of the Straits. Living as it did largely on the tolls that it levied on international shipping, Palembang compelled merchant vessels to call at its ports by simple and drastic means, as recorded by Chao Ju-Kua (trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 1912, p. 62): "If a merchant ship passes by without entering, their boats go forth to make a combined attack, and all are ready to die (in the attempt). This is the reason why this country is a great shipping centre." The Dutch did virtually the same thing; and to that end they kept a constant patrol of ships up and down the Straits, did their best to divert all trade to Malacca, even at the expense of their friends and allies of Johor, blockaded Perak and Kedah to prevent their tin going elsewhere, and tried to do the same thing in somewhat gentler fashion even in the Siamese province of Ujong Salang (Junk Ceylon) and its neighbourhood.

As a matter of fact, the other East India Companies, even to a much later period, pursued a similar policy. They all aimed at keeping the trade of the East as much as possible in their own hands and the basis of their charters was monopoly, not merely as against Orientals and European foreigners but also as against their own fellow citizens, whom our East India Company styled "interlopers." In the case of Malacca the actual tolls levied were not in themselves exorbitant, either in the Portuguese period or,

as a rule, in the time of the Dutch occupation. Some details under this head have been conveniently collected in a paper entitled *The Malay Peninsula and Europe in the Past* (being part of H. P. N. Muller's *Britsch Malakka* abstracted by P. C. Hooynck van Papendrecht, in No. 67 of the above-mentioned Journal, p.63 seq.), which should be referred to throughout in connexion with many of the matters contained in Bort's report. But it is evident that the whole system was wrong in principle, unfair to other traders and doubly unfair to the neighbouring Malay States, who resented it but were unable effectually to resist it.

Thus the relations of the Dutch with the Malays of the Peninsula (other than those of Johor) were never quite cordial. An account of their difficulties with Perak and Kédah will be found in the report. With the Sumatran Malays the Dutch were less concerned. Their only depot or "factory" on that side of the Straits was at Indragiri. In the rest of the East Coast of Sumatra they had at this period very little to say. It was necessary for them to keep on terms with Achin, which apparently still claimed some sort of suzerainty over Perak but was no longer the power it had been half a century before. Even with their near neighbours of Naning the Dutch of Malacca could not find a comfortable *modus vivendi*. The position there was somewhat anomalous. Alone of all the states of the Peninsula, Naning was definitely a vassal state under the Dutch, just as it had been under their predecessors the Portuguese. At the back of Naning lay its close connexions, the other little Menangkabau States, which were nominally under the suzerainty of Johor. But in Naning and these other Menangkabau States a new leaven was working: some sort of nationalist feeling had sprung up and there was a tendency at this time to establish a Menangkabau kingdom, such as later on took shape under the title of Negeri Sembilan. On this point Bort's report gives us some interesting historical information supplementing what has already been recorded in *The Malay Peninsula*, etc., above cited, p.74. A pretender to this newfangled throne had made his appearance, with all the usual claims to invulnerability and other supernatural powers, and he became for a brief period a thorn in the side of the Government of Malacca. The Dutch had their "Naning War" just as we had one about 150 years later, in fact they had several, and they managed them just about as badly as we did ours. Incidentally the report gives us some insight into the political conditions of the rest of the Peninsula. Thus (on p.245 of the manuscript) Sungai Ujong and Kelang are classed as belonging to Johor, Perak is still, at any rate in theory, subject to Achin, and Kedah is styled a rebellious vassal of Siam.

The territory of Malacca along the coast and outside the boundaries of Naning was definitely under direct Dutch rule and

seems to have been effectively occupied. The report gives a good deal of interesting information about it. It appears that it contained a number of villages which still exist under the same names and also included many plantations belonging either to the Company or to private owners. It is noticeable that there was at this date a considerable Bugis element in some parts of the territory, an element of which no trace probably remains at the present time. Presumably it has been quite merged in the Malay race. But we have here an early indication of the importance which the Bugis were soon to assume in the Riau-Lingga archipelago, where they eventually practically controlled the State of Johor and from whence they founded the dynasty now reigning in Sēlangor.

Of the town and fort of Malacca, the centre of all the Dutch activities in the Straits, we get a pretty full description. There are detailed particulars of the fort, the civil and military establishments, and the population generally. In fact the report enables us to realize quite vividly what sort of a place Malacca must have been in the year 1678.

I should perhaps mention that some of the official documents embodied in the report have already been published in Dutch, as mentioned in my *Catalogue*, but the rest has never been printed. I have prefixed to the translation a fairly detailed Abstract of Contents and (avoiding footnotes for the most part) have appended an alphabetically arranged list of Notes on matters requiring explanation. This applies particularly to local proper names and Oriental words, as well as many technical terms which it seemed desirable to preserve in the forms given in the original text. In the translation the pagination of the India Office manuscript has been entered in parentheses and occasionally when the sense seemed to be doubtful or ambiguous, or for some other reason it appeared to be advisable, the actual words of the original have been quoted in italics and parentheses. A few explanations have been added in the text in square brackets, and when the Hague copy differed, the letters H. C. indicate the source of the reading. Besides this the text of the India Office manuscript has occasionally been departed from when there was an obvious copyist's error in it or when other versions (such as the Hague copy or existing printed documents) gave a better sense. The Regulations made between Charles II and the States General for the avoidance of disputes between the English and Dutch East India Companies have been checked with the Latin original (Public Record Office, State Papers Foreign, Treaties, No. 315) and a few trifling points of difference have been noted in square brackets. The only material one is the date, which in the Old Style then in use in England was 8 March 1674, corresponding to New Style 18 March 1675.

My sincere thanks are due to the Committee for Malay Studies of the Federated Malay States for commissioning me to

get the report translated, to the Secretary of State for India for sanctioning its translation and publication, to Mr. P. C. Hoyneek van Papendrecht and other Dutch friends for assistance in resolving some obscurities in the Dutch text, and to Messrs. W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., B. O. Cartwright, B.A., and H. H. Dodwell, M.A. (Professor of Indian History in the School of Oriental Studies), for valuable help in the explanation of many of the words entered in the Notes.

### Abstract of Contents.

(*Entries relating to documents embodied in the Report are in italics. The page numbers refer to the pagination of the India Office MS.*)

	Pages
Malacca, its situation, foundation, and facilities for trade . . . . .	1, 2
The Portuguese discovery and conquest; improvement of the town and building of the fort . . . . .	3, 4
The Dutch attack in 1606; <i>First Dutch treaty with Johor</i> (1606); the Dutch attack on Malacca fails	5- 12
<i>Second Dutch treaty with Johor</i> (1606); foundation of Batavia (1619); Dutch siege of Malacca in 1640 and fall of the town in 1641 . . . . .	12- 16
Former Dutch administrators of Malacca; annual commemoration of the Dutch conquest . . . . .	17- 20
The fort, defences, and arms . . . . .	20- 42
Military, civil, and marine establishments (including the outstations) . . . . .	42- 61
Statistics of the population and houses; Government servants and their houses; houses in the suburbs and villages . . . . .	61- 66
<i>Petitions and Licenses for brick and tile making</i> (1677); the Company's houses . . . . .	66- 74
The Burgher Guard of Company's servants and Christian inhabitants; <i>Orders for the same</i> (1677) . . . . .	75- 78
Territorial jurisdiction of Malacca; plantations and rice-fields . . . . .	78- 83
The aborigines (Orang Bĕnua); <i>Description of the same</i> (1642) . . . . .	83- 90
Territory of Naning; its relation with the Government of Malacca; <i>Contract made with Naning</i> (1641); troubles with Naning and Rĕmbau; conditions of peace made in 1646; <i>Rescript of Batavia Government thereon</i> (1646); <i>Letter to Batavia Government thereon</i> (1646); <i>Resolution of Malacca Government</i>	

Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca	7
	Pages
on the same subject (1646); <i>Proclamation against as to terms and Pardon for the Chief of Naning</i> (1646); further relations with Rëmbau and Naning, rise of a Menangkabau pretender; <i>Letter to Naning</i> (1677); Menangkabau attack on Malacca; <i>Order to troops going up country on patrol</i> (1675)	90-131
Relations with Këdah unsatisfactory	131
Ecclesiastical matters; position of Roman Catholics and Protestants at Malacca; <i>Letter of Batavia Government thereon</i> (1645); <i>another Letter from the same Roman Catholic clergy</i> (1646); <i>Second Proclamation against the same</i> (1666); <i>Decree against the same</i> (1666)	132-154
Various classes of the population	154
The Council of Government	154- 5
Guardians of orphans and administrators of estates of deceased Persons; commissioners for matrimonial matters; hospital inspectors, etc.	155- 8
The equipage master and his duties (with a list of vessels stationed or cruising); <i>Orders for the equipage master</i> (1665); <i>Instructions for the same in his capacity of surveyor</i> (1666); <i>Instructions for the same in his capacity as gauger</i> (1666)	158-180
The surgeon	180
The storekeeper and his duties; <i>Memorandum for the storekeeper</i> (1671)	180- 8
Scarcity of provisions; <i>Government minute as to the issue of supplies</i> (1677); new storehouse sanctioned	188-192
Duties of the shahbandar and license master; <i>Memorandum for the shahbandar and his deputies</i> (1668)	192-201
Custom duties and tolls	201- 3
<i>Provisional agreement with the Portuguese thereon</i> (1646)	203- 8
Farmed taxes and their yield	209- 11
Tax on the sale of ships and their equipments; <i>Proclamation reducing the same to 5%</i> (1674)	211- 4
Bookkeeping and trade	214- 6
Payment of the garrison	216- 7
Administration of the estates of deceased persons; <i>Charter regarding the same</i> (1672)	217- 22
Other financial matters, e.g. assignments of pay; <i>Order as to payment of salaries</i> (1670); no credit to be given for goods sold; <i>Extract from a letter from</i>	

	Pages
<i>Batavia to that effect; outstanding bad debts</i> ..	222- 30
Merchandise dealt in by the Company exclusively: tin, pepper, opium, cloves, mace, nutmegs, and resin	230- 1
Japanese copper; Indian cloths; <i>List of prices current for piece goods</i> (1659); restrictions on trade in the same; opium; gold; <i>Report on gold found in Malacca</i> (1670) .. .. .	231- 8
Places from which trading ships came to Malacca; nature of the trade with various places; <i>Order as to trade under the British flag</i> (1677) .. .. .	238- 45
Tin and the tin-producing countries .. .. .	245- 7
<i>Contracts with Kédah</i> (1642), <i>Ujong Salang</i> (1643), <i>Bangarij</i> (1645), <i>Achin (also on behalf of Perak)</i> (1659), <i>Kota Rénab, Kēbon and Gittij</i> (1676) ..	247- 61
The tin of Sungai Ujong, Kēlang, Kédah and Perak ..	262- 3
History of the Perak trade; <i>Orders for the Dutch representatives there</i> (n.d.) and <i>for the sergeant in charge at Dinding island</i> (1670) .. .. .	263- 94
Trade with Kédah; <i>Orders for the blockading force there</i> (1670) .. .. .	294-300
Trade with Ujong Salang and Bangarij; <i>Orders for the vessels proceeding to Ujong Salang</i> (1670) ..	300- 20
Trade and Contract with <i>Indēragiri</i> (1664) .. ..	320- 6
Relations with Johor, Jambi, Bēngkalis, Muar, Batu Pahat, Dēli, and North-East Sumatra generally; Javanese traders there and elsewhere .. ..	326- 31
Particulars of ships cruising in the Straits of Malacca and Singapore; <i>Orders for vessels cruising between Cape Rachado and Bēngkalis</i> (1668), <i>Kēsang and Cape Rachado</i> (1668), <i>at the Linggi river</i> (1678), and <i>near the Straits of Singapore</i> (1667) .. ..	331- 44
Relations with the French, English, and Portuguese; <i>Regulations agreed to between Charles II and the States General as to the English and Dutch East India Companies</i> (1675) .. .. .	344- 9
Recent Government orders as to the trade and financial matters, including an approved <i>list of officials for Malacca</i> .. .. .	349- 57
Questions and decisions on matters of policy .. ..	357- 61
Statement of assets in cash and goods .. .. .	361- 2
Recent events; conclusion .. .. .	363- 7

**Report of Heer BALTHASAR BORT, Councillor-in-Ordinary of India, Governor and Director of the town and fort of Malacca together with the dependencies thereof, left, on his departure thence to Batavia, to his successor, Heer Jacob Jorisz Pits, Councillor Extraordinary of India, for his use.**

As an introduction, I note first that this Malacca is situated 2 degrees 20 minutes N. of the Equator on a plain along the sea-shore on the west of the mainland of Asia about 30 miles from Sincapura which provides the nearest passage for sailing along the east coast of that same continent to Europe, if this route could be discovered (*soo der tot soo verre passagie conde uijtgevonden werden*). By some ancient authors it was, with some appearance of truth, held to be "Ophir rich in gold" and by some also (2) called the Aurea Chersonesus. It was founded by Siamese, Peguans, Bengalis and fishermen from neighbouring islands, who went thither in boats on account of the good situation of the strait, about 11 miles from E. to W. between the island of Sumatra (called by the ancients Taprobane) and Malacca, which are situated opposite each other. They were attracted by the fertility as well as by the beauty of the country and gradually made it their meeting place and an open town. In course of time, with the increase in numbers of the surrounding peoples, it became a great city, the royal capital of the Moorish and Malay nations and was visited by ships from the Spice Islands, the Moluccas, Amboina and Banda situated to the S. and E., and also by the Moors from the N., who took these same spices from here to their own land and found means of forwarding them thence to Europe. Malacca was at that time known already even to the Chinese and visited by them.

Thus it became very well known and, when the (3) Portuguese first discovered the East Indies in 1498, was in a very flourishing condition. They visited it and found it convenient for their traffic and commerce and for the domination of the southern part of the East, consequently they established themselves there, at first as merchants, but later they entrenched themselves secretly outside the town. The Mohammedan king of the country however discovered this, and, recognizing the disadvantage to himself, tried to rid himself of them by an evil, crafty trick (which however failed) on their arrival with 5 ships under the command of Jacob Lopes Siquera in 1509. The Portuguese on their side strove very earnestly for the conquest of the town, until, after some warlike exploits, they got possession of it by *finesse* and force in the year 1511 on the 10th of August under the leadership of Alphonso d'Alburkercke [Affonso de Albuquerque], Viceroy of Portuguese India, and found therein great treasure. The king, Mehemeth by name, fled with most of his subjects to the aforesaid straits of Sincapure and established his seat (*sedem*) there on the mainland by building a town afterwards called (4) the kingdom of Johore.

The Portuguese made Malacca a chief place for the southern traffic of India and a strategic base (*sedem bellium*) for the conquests they aimed at, so that, being frequented by all the neighbouring peoples, it became in a few years an excellent trading town and, through the wielding of weapons, very formidable. It provided the crown of Portugal and the Portuguese traders with a constant flow of wealth and repute. In a short time, with its population of Portuguese burghers, Malays and various Indians, it became well built and cultivated and continually improved and grew. In early days a castle with a high tower was built on the foundations of the palace of the expelled king at the foot of the hill there is in Malacca, about 40 rods above sea level in height. The low ground along the sea—, river— and land-sides they at first fenced about with palisades, afterwards they built a wall and bastions of solid, hard, well mortared stone, so that in the end it was a strong, spacious fortress on geometrical lines after the European fashion with the aforesaid hill in its midst.

(5) It was not quite finished when the Dutch East India Company's admiral, Cornelis Matelief de Jonge, in the year 1606 appeared before Malacca with 11 ships and blockaded it with a force of 700 men in order, with the help of the people of Johor, to get possession of it. He had made an agreement with their king for that purpose, which I here insert on account of its remarkable character.

Agreement made between the Admiral Cornelis Matelief de Jonge in the name and on behalf of the High and Mighty States General of the United Netherlands of the one part and the Illustrious and powerful King of Johor on the other part this 17th, day of May, 1606, on the ship *Orangie* lying in the Malacca roads.

(6) Firstly the said Admiral in the name as above at the request of the said King promises to help him to conquer the town of Malacca and take it out of the hands of the Portuguese, their common enemy, and each shall use his powers to the utmost to drive these same out and, this being with God's help accomplished, the same walled town, as it now is within its walls and ramparts, shall be and remain for ever, without payment of any charges or acknowledgement of overlordship, in the free ownership of the States aforesaid, which the King aforesaid grants herewith as payment for the war; furthermore the whole territory shall remain subject to his Majesty, it being agreed that the States aforesaid or their Captain shall be allowed, if they propose to strengthen the town, to appropriate as much land for the said fortification as they shall think advisable.

2

The aforesaid States shall also have the right to get and cut wood in all the lands of the King (7) for the building of ships and for the needs of the town.



## 3

Moreover all subjects of the aforesaid States may unload their ships and wares, from whatever place they come, also hired ships, junks and praos (prauwen), in the aforesaid town without the King's interference or the imposition of any toll, either on arrival or departure.

## 4

The King also shall not allow any Dutchman or [other] Europeans or their descendants to trade in any of his lands unless they have authority from the Governor of Malacca, and, if they have not the same, they shall be held to be enemies and treated as such.

## 5

On the other hand his Majesty shall people the suburb of Campo Clingh, which is now burnt down, and rule it without interference from the States and, if possible, take up his (8) residence there and fortify it, wherein the aforesaid States shall assist him with counsel.

## 6

His Majesty shall, after the conquest of the town, have all the guns found therein, the one half of which he shall have the right to take away at once and the other half he shall be found to leave in the town for its defence until it is provided for by the States.

## 7

One half of whatever merchandise, money, wares, etc., shall be found in the town shall fall to the subjects of the States aforesaid on this fleet and the other half to his Majesty aforesaid.

## 8

All merchandise not belonging to the subjects of the States aforesaid must be unloaded in the King's territory in the suburb, whither the subjects of the States shall be at liberty to go and buy with others and to bring their purchases into the town.

## 9

(9) Further they shall, with all their strength and to the utmost of their power, assist and help each other to inflict all possible damage on the Portuguese and Spaniards, their common enemies, and, should either of the parties make war on any others than the Portuguese or Spaniards, the other party shall not be bound to help him except on the defensive.

## 10

Neither of the parties shall have the right to make peace with the King of Spain without the consent of both.

## 11

Should any man give offence in matters of religion, he shall be tried and punished by the government under whose jurisdiction he is; this to apply to both parties.

## 12

If any persons of the one or the other party have any complaint to make against the other as to debt or any other matter, the defendant shall be summoned before his own magistrates.

## 13

If any of the Dutch take refuge with the King of Johor by reason of (10) crime or for any other reason, or if any of the King's people flee to the Dutch, the parties shall be bound to hand over the runaway to his government.

Form of oath wherewith the foregoing articles were sworn to on each side:

We, Jan de Patuan and Rajah Sabrangh, kings of Johor, do hereby promise to maintain the above agreement in all its points and articles, without acting in any way contrary thereto, so help us God Almighty.

I, Cornelis Matelief de Jonge in the name of their Honours the States General of the United Netherlands do hereby promise to perform all the above articles in all their parts, without in any way acting contrary thereto, so help me God Almighty.

The two kings of Johor, who were brothers, came accordingly into the admiral's camp with their people, but gave (11) little help. Our forces hoped nevertheless to win the town, since it was already reduced to famine and much weakened by sickness and death, although the Captain General, Don Andrea Surtado de Mendonsa [Furtado de Mendosa], strove with great courage to hold the town. To that end and for the better defence of the fortress he had burnt and abandoned the suburbs both on the N. and S. sides, on the landing of our troops, who marched in and encamped there, especially in the northern suburb, which was the more important. In the month of August of the same year our forces had news of the coming of the Portuguese fleet from Goa and were obliged to break camp and raise the siege. This fleet consisted of 16 great galleons, 9 galleys, 1 caravel and 13 barges. Our force on the other hand was only 11 ships strong, manned by about 1200 troops, among them some sick and wounded. Nevertheless it sailed out to meet the Portuguese fleet and (12) encountered it near Cabo Rochado in a fierce fight, both sides losing ships and pursuing each other to Malacca, whence our fleet fled to Johor. There a second agreement was made in the Johor town of Batasauwer, Sept. 23, 1606, running as follows:

In the first place all the articles contained in the agreement between the parties dated May 17 of this year in the ship *Orange* in the roads of Malacca are confirmed. But, since it has not pleased God Almighty that we should as yet have been able to conquer the town of Malacca, and therefore certain clauses on both sides cannot be maintained, as for instance the possession of the town by the States and of the suburb and territory in general by the king of Johor, the parties will postpone such to a further opportunity, which God shall be graciously pleased to give for the conquest of the same through the diligence of the States and of the king of Johor

(13) And, since it is necessary for the furtherance of the commerce of their subjects in the East Indies that the States should have a secure and safe place for the collection and safe keeping of their goods, merchandise, ammunition, equipment, etc., also that they may have the right, when need arises, to bring craftsmen and their families from their own land, his Majesty the king of Johor shall give to the States or their captain such a place as they shall desire, either here on the mainland or on some island within the realm of his Majesty, as great or as small as the States or their captain shall think fit, that they may build their houses and dwellings there and possess it in place of Malacca.

Then also the States and their subjects shall be bound to fulfil the articles contained in the agreement made before Malacca; thus done in Batasauwer the day and year as above.

(14) Shortly afterwards Admiral Matelief departed with the fleet from Johor and returned therewith to Malacca and there in the roadstead attacked, defeated and destroyed some ships of the Portuguese armada; he then betook himself to Queda and made friends with the king of that place.

Among the neighbouring islands he found the main body of the aforementioned armada lying at anchor in a place very favourable for defence; nevertheless he attacked it, but being unable to do it any damage, he abandoned the attack and, having sent two ships to Aetchin and one to Cormandel, he departed with the other ships to Bantam and Jacatra and thence on to Amboina and Banda carrying to these places the glad tidings of the expulsion and destruction of the great Portuguese armada which had been equipped to drive the Dutch completely out of the East Indies and to punish the kings, princes and rulers who had traded and made alliance with them.

Meanwhile our Dutch town of Jacatra, now Batavia, having been acquired by arms (15) in 1619, the conquest of Malacca was no longer so ardently desired as before, but, when our power and resources in this land had increased, we began again to make plans to weaken the Portuguese and Spanish enemy in every direction

and even to force them to abandon the East Indies, insomuch that in 1640, during the rule of the Governor-General Anthonio van Diemen of blessed, laudable memory, Malacca was besieged by sea and land. After the death of the commander Adriaen Anthonisz Coper, Malacca was taken by storm in the morning of Jan. 19, 1641 under the leadership of Minne Willemsz Caertekoe, who had been appointed to the command, and of Sergeant Major Johannes Lamotius.

The Portuguese had been in possession of this town and fortress 127 [really 129] years and 5 months. Of about 20,000 men who were there before the siege scarcely 3,000 survived, the others having perished from hardship, hunger (16) and pestilence or in the fighting. On our side also of nearly 3,000 Dutch employed in and for the siege only about half remained alive. Not only was the fortress half destroyed by breaching and in other ways but the churches and houses also. After the victory many on both sides perished miserably owing to the stench from the unburied dead.

The people of Johor and the Manicabers of Naning and Rom-bouw were to some extent of service to us in the siege, but principally with a view to their own advantage, robbing and stealing especially from the slaves of the Portuguese, but also from the native Christians, who fled by reason of hunger and were ordered to leave the town.

All these facts I have gathered together from old writings to satisfy my own curiosity and to serve as a reminder for myself, not with the intent that it should be so for the Honourable Company or your Honour; however, in the hope that it will not be disagreeable to you, I make you a sharer therein and use the (17) matter as an introduction and beginning of the memoir I have been commanded by their Honours the High Government of India at Batavia to provide for your Honour and to leave here on my departure from Malacca.

This famous town and fort of Malacca, having by God's gracious blessing come into the possession of the United Netherlands in the way related above, has been governed successively by various high officials of that State, viz. Heer Jean van Twist, Heer Jeremias van Vliet, Heer Arnold de Vlamingh van Outshoorn, Heer Joan Thijssen, Heer Joan van Riebeeck, whom I relieved. I am of opinion that if, so long as the time that is coming does not demand change, your Honour continues to enforce the good orders, edicts and instructions issued by my predecessor as to administration, justice, and military matters, commerce and the prohibition of private trading, also the tolls and licenses and the cruising here in the Straits, instituted by the Portuguese for the maintenance of the rights of Malacca and now (18) devolved on us by right of conquest, also for the preservation of the Andragierij

and Pera trade, which are still included under that of Malacca, if, I repeat, your Honour enforces these, I believe it will redound to the well-being of this place, to peaceful government, the upholding of justice, the maintenance of laudable military discipline, progress in trade and continuance of the established tolls and rights, and finally to the benefit of the East India Company of the United Netherlands.

For the furtherance of this last it is our duty to strive to the utmost of our power, to use all imaginable means and the most eager vigilance, and may God the Lord be pleased to lend His good blessing during your Honour's rule.

The orders, edicts and instructions, in conformity with the successive commands of their Honours the High Government of India at Batavia, are registered in the books kept at the Secretary's office, where are also the letters received from (19) and sent to various places, together with extracts touching Malacca from the general dispatches of the Honourable Council of 17, our masters at home. The reading and recapitulation of these letters, whenever you give time to it, especially of those sent here by their Honours the High Government of India at Batavia and from here to their Honours aforesaid and also of the extracts mentioned, will undoubtedly increase the knowledge and experience already acquired by your Honour's many years' service to the Company, some of it here in Malacca and will be of great assistance to your Honour's wonted zeal and industry.

In commemoration of the fact that Malacca was won and came into the possession of the United Netherlands by the sword, an armed man with a sword in his fist, as well as the Company's general mark, was added to the arms of the town viz. a Chinese junk, because the Portuguese first conquered and made themselves masters of the place in the guise of Chinese traders.

(20) And, to keep that day in happy remembrance, it has been celebrated up to the present every year on the 19th. of Jan. In the morning at daybreak all the guns of the fort are fired and the soldiers standing on the walls discharge three volleys from their muskets. Then in the forenoon a sermon is preached in the church of St. Paul and special praise and thanks are given to God for the victory. When the sermon is over, the taxes imposed are publicly farmed out to the highest bidder i.e. by auction in the Governor's house in the presence of the Governor himself and of the Council. In the afternoon, if there is nothing to prevent it, the burghers parade fully armed, the arms being lent for the occasion from the Company's armoury, and returned to it. This custom has been observed throughout the thirteen years of my rule and will, I hope, be followed by your Honour.

The bastions, points and angles or breastworks in the fort of Malacca (21) in existence in the time of the Portuguese and still *in esse* were re-named by us after the conquest as follows:

St. Domingo (for the most part destroyed by gunfire; the first to be stormed and the one through which the victors gained entrance to the town.)	..	..	..	re-named	Victoria
Madre Deos	..	..	..	re-named	Emelia
Ongie Mille Virgines or 11000 Virgins	..	..	..	re-named	Henriette Louise
St. Iago	..	..	..	re-named	Wilhelmus
Hospitaal del Rey	..	..	..	re-named	Mauritius
Courassa	..	..	..	re-named	Fredrick Hendrick
Hospitaal del Povne	..	..	..	re-named	Ernestus Casimir
St. Domingo	..	..	..	re-named	Amsterdam.

In addition in 1660 a new point was made by Heer Joan Thijsen next to Fredrick Hendrick on the Ernestus side at the mouth of the river close to the bank, and named Middelburgh. It is only a half bastion, as is also the one re-named Ernestus; Amsterdam is an angle or breastwork; Victoria may well serve as a full bastion; Emelia is a great, for the most part, round bastion; Henriette Louise also constitutes a full (22) point; Wilhelmus is a small round bastion; Mauritius is an obtuse (plompen) angle, and Fredrick Hendrick a spacious, excellent bastion washed by the sea on the south east, as are also Mauritius and Wilhelmus. Ernestus, Amsterdam and Victoria lie along the river on the northwest. Proceeding thence, on the south of the fort, are land bastions, viz. Emelia and Henriette Louijse.

Fredrick Hendrick, Ernestus and Emelia have spacious, convenient, vaulted cellars for gunpowder; moreover in time of need ammunition can be stored and kept dry under Victoria and Wilhelmus so as to have it ready to hand for use. Emilia and Henriette Louijse are the only bastions provided with casemates.

In my time no change has been made in this scheme of fortification; I have only had the small point Victoria enlarged by a third and furnished with more guns, so that it is now considerably stronger and more defensible. This was very necessary, as was also the making of a passageway between the bastions Victoria and Emelia along (23) the breastwork, since there was formerly only a wooden structure which could not be traversed without risk. This passage-way was made by reducing the thickness of the breastwork, so that there is now a space of fully three feet from the breastwork and therefore convenient for passing along the same.

The fort has also a passage-way above on the walls at the side of the breastwork; it is very broad from the bastion Emelia to Wilhelmus, but thence it gets narrower.

Some wooden watchtowers were also rebuilt in my time in stone, and some guardhouses which were formerly roofed with adap [atap] I had tiled. The powder-cellar under the bastion Wilhelmus I had cleared of the soil with which it was filled and made fit again for its purpose.

Some new works also were made, e.g. two strong stone gates, one between the bastions Middelburgh and Ernestus on the river side and the other between the bastions Wilhelmus and Henriette Louijse on the land side, both having their due (24) curvature, width and length and each great double doors with a wicket. They were made in 1669, because the gates in existence here when I came were old, bad and inadequate for this fine strong fort. The gate on the land side close to the bastion Wilhelmus I found blocked and the other on the river side, which consisted merely of a single door, had been much reduced in size and is now opened only in the morning to put out the refuse tubs and when the ships have to be unloaded and loaded. At the new gates there are stone stairs by which to mount to and come down from the upper wall and they have on both sides convenient stone guardhouses and cookhouses. Moreover I have had two more guardhouses made, one at the bastion Fredrick Hendrick and the other at Victoria, which had great need of them.

The great door of the gate of this fort on the river it was formerly the rule to open for none (25) except the Governor and his wife, after it had been closed, according to the usual custom, at 7 p.m., but the Captain Aernouwd Westdrop in 1672 had it opened for him, even when it was already late at night, without my previous knowledge. In consequence of this Sr. Francois Santvoort, who was at that time chief merchant here and second in rank, maintained that this ought to be done for him also. Strife having arisen between them as a result of this, an expedient was devised by me and the Council for removing it, and to that end we allowed that door and the bars of the drawbridge over the river to be opened for them until 9 p.m. and not later, provided their Honours the High Government of India at Batavia should not decree otherwise. But their Honours, on receipt of our letter concerning this matter, answered, in their dispatch of the 5th. of May, 1672, that this occurrence of the opening of the great gate, etc. appeared very surprising to them; as to which their Honours said that the Governor would have done well, in virtue of his authority, to (26) enforce the old rule, which ought not to have given reasonable cause of offence to any, but, since by a resolution of the Council some change had already been made, it could stand, in order to avoid making alterations anew, howbeit subject to the condition that

henceforth none should attempt, especially in matters touching military authority, to introduce any innovation without the previous knowledge and consent of the Governor, on whose orders alone the great gate of the fort is to be opened after 9 o'clock in the evening. The gate now remains unclosed until that hour, but the land gate on the south side is shut at sundown and not opened after that time except by the Governor's express order, nor the aforesaid gate on the river after it has been shut, which usually happens at 9 p.m., if no persons of quality are without, who may wish to enter, or within, who may wish to go out.

A moat has also been dug here from the river to the seashore and a ravelin placed on the outer side of the bastion Victoria for the greater protection of the same and also to give command thence (27) towards Emelia. The aforesaid moat  $183\frac{1}{2}$  rods long, 2-4 rods wide and 12 feet deep (Rhenish measure) including the square in front of the face of Victoria. This moat was begun in 1673 and completed in 1674, that is, when the French were in India with a fleet and, in conjunction with the English, were making fierce war on our State. At that time I had a *fausse braie* also made and maintained on the inner side of the moat between the bastions Victoria and Emelia, so as to strengthen the wall which is weakest there and is not filled with earth inside. Behind this *fausse braie* between the bastions towards the wall, there is a space of 24 feet forming a covered way from which and from the ravelin the moat can be defended over the *fausse braie*, and the passage of the enemy can be obstructed with less danger. From the point Henriette Louise past the land gate to the bastion Wilhelmus there is also an earthen breastwork on the side of the moat.

(28) These works were approved and ordered by their Honours in Batavia before being undertaken, so that they must be maintained.

The moat has two stone sluices with small gates, the one on the river, the other on the sea-side, by means of which the water can be let in and out. Fresh and salt water fish come into and are preserved in it, yielding already some profit, although not much, from the annual farming, but it is evident that in time the profit will increase with the multiplication of the fish.

At the bastion Victoria there is a *fausse porte* giving access through the wall to the ravelin, *fausse braie*, covered way and moat; it is at present always kept shut and need not be opened except in time of necessity. By reason of this moat the fort lies, as it were, on an island. Over it there are two drawbridges, one on the river, the other on the sea-side, opposite the stone gate between Henriette Louise and Wilhelmus aforesaid. By this latter drawbridge the southern suburb, and by the one over the river (close to its entrance near the other gate) (29) the northern suburb are joined to the



fort and have access to each other. These bridges, which also were made during my governorship, must be continually kept up, to the end that they do not fall into ruin and perish.

The fort of Malacca is now very strong, having seven strong bastions and two angles by the walls, all of stone, as close and hard as iron; on the land-side  $19\frac{1}{2}$ , 22, 23,  $25\frac{1}{2}$  and  $26\frac{1}{2}$ , and on sea-side  $19\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $26\frac{1}{2}$ , and 29 feet high. Moreover the fort contains within the circumference of the walls 342 rods, and outside them  $365\frac{1}{2}$  rods, as was found by measurements made in the presence of Heer van Riebeeck and myself.

To wit:

	Innermost Polygon	Outermost Line
From Fredrick Hendrick to Middelburgh	16	18
„ Middelburgh to Ernestus .. ..	41.3	40.3
„ Ernestus to Amsterdam .. ..	16.8	15.9
„ Amsterdam to Victoria .. ..	26.4	28.6
„ Victoria to Emelia .. ..	56	62.8
„ Emelia to Henriette Louijse .. ..	46	49.2
„ Henriette Louijse to Wilhelmus .. ..	39	42.4
„ Wilhelmus to Mauritius .. ..	40.8	43.11
„ Mauritius to Fredrick Hendrick aforenamed .. ..	59.9	64.11
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	Rods 342	395.6

Each rod reckoned at 12 feet, Rhenish measure.

(30) The inner angles of the polygons are as follows:

Of the bastion Middelburgh .. ..	133 degrees
„ „ „ Mauritius .. ..	$102\frac{1}{2}$ „
„ „ „ Wilhelmus .. ..	$117\frac{1}{2}$ „
„ „ „ Emelia .. ..	126 „
„ „ „ Victoria .. ..	87 „

Note Ernestus, Amsterdam, Fredrick Hendrick and Henriette Louise are laid altogether on a straight line, wherefore they contain no inner polygon angles. These bastions and breastworks or angles are all provided with guardhouses with the exception of Mauritius, Middelburgh, Ernestus and Amsterdam, there being no need for them to be made there, because what is required can be done by the garrison at the two gates of the fort, which are near by.

The bastions, as also the ravelin I have several times mentioned, have mounted on them at the present time 49 brass and 33 iron pieces, their height being as follows:

	Brass	Iron	Feet high to breastwork
Fredrick Hendrick	12	1	24
Mauritius	3	—	28
	—	—	

Wilhelmus	6	—	29½
Henriette Louise	5	1	22½
Emelia	6	5	27½
Victoria	4	8	28½
Ravelin (one old mortar)	13		—
Amsterdam	2	—	22½
Ernestus	3	3	24
Middelburgh	8	—	19
On the wall between Fredrick Hendrick and Middelburgh	—	2	19½
	—	—	
Pieces	49	33	

(31) Being therewith so well provided that they could not be more conveniently placed.

Outside the bastion Middelburgh at the mouth of the river, where it is closed by a boom opposite the custom-house, there stand also 4 pieces of iron ordnance, between earthen embrasures, which fire horizontally seawards for the protection of the sands which there, between Fredrick Hendrick and Middelburgh, are increasing greatly in size. These 4 iron pieces, added to the 33 already specified, make 37, and so, with the 48 brass and one small mortar, there are altogether 86 pieces of ordnance to the fort. Moreover in 1677, at the time of the attack made by the Manicabers, who came suddenly and made open war on us, I was obliged to strengthen the defences in the northern suburb, called Banda Malacca, and at the guardhouse by the stone well (the best drinking water found) near the hill Bouquet China, called St. Francisco by the Portuguese. The following guns remain there still, (32) viz..

On the small square wooden fort Delft on the river (32) bank fully a cannon shot from the fort on the spot where was formerly the betel warehouse, 7 brass and 9 iron pieces.

At Bouquet China in the plank palisade round the guardhouse and the well provided with a breastwork, 8 brass pedreroes;

At the end of the same suburb by the remains of the wall of Taypa (it is beaten earth mixed with small hard stones) where is now an angle and, from the same towards the seashore, the wall has been repaired and provided with a parapet and, on the outer side, with palisades, 1 brass and 3 iron pieces;

At the same Taypa wall landwards in front of the Company's garden a small earthwork provided with palisades, 3 iron pieces;

About 39 rods from that point, there being no more remains of the wall but a large gap to the east of the town, the

narrow way is closed to the front by planks and a door and provided with 2 iron pieces to guard (33) the flat ground there, for without this defence it would have been easy for an enemy to break in at that point.

Thus in the northern suburb there are 8 brass and 17 iron guns with 8 brass pedreroes, making, with the guns of the fort—, altogether 111 pieces all placed on suitable carriages and emplacements, viz.

57 brass guns, including 1 mortar

54 iron guns and

8 pedreroes.

Of what sort this ordnance is, what weight of ball and gun-powder each gun fires, and with what quantity of round and long shot (stored under the guardhouse and the bastion Fredrick Hendrick, also under Wilhelmus and near Ernestus) this fort is at present provided can be seen from the memoranda made thereon.

Besides the carriages and emplacements where the guns now actually stand, there is nothing in store owing to the lack of—quite wood, although such store is very necessary to save us from getting into difficulties in time of need. May it please your Honour to keep this matter in mind and to have these things made when it is possible.

**(34) List of the cannon both iron and brass of this town and fort of Malacca.**

ON THE BASTION FREDRICK HENDRICK.

Pieces				
Iron	Brass	Stone Shot	Iron Shot	Powder
	1 German demi-cannon firing	..	24	12
	1 culverin	.. ..	14	10
	2 "clocksgewijs"*	.. ..	12	4
	1 "doorgaande"†	.. ..	12	8
	1 called "The Dog"	.. 40	..	20
	1 wide-mouthed	.. 36	..	12
	1 "doorgaande"	.. ..	4	3
	2 field pieces	.. ..	3	1
1		.. ..	12	8
1		.. ..	6	7
2	10 together 12 pieces.			

\* Probably "bell-shaped."

† Perhaps this means that it had great power of penetration.

## ON THE SMALL SEA BASTION MAURITIUS.

Pieces					
Iron	Brass	Stone Shot		Iron Shot	Powder
	1 culverin	firing	..	24	10
	1 culverin	..	..	5	3½
	1 ..	..	..	9	6
<hr/>					
	3 pieces.				

## ON THE SEA BASTION WILHELMUS.

3	"doorgaande"	firing	..	18	9
2	"clocksgewijs"	..	..	12	4
1	..	..	..	4	3
<hr/>					
	6 pieces.				

## ON THE LAND BASTION HENRIETTE LOUISE.

2	wide-mouthed,				
	in the casemate,	firing	28	..	7
1	"clocksgewijs"	..	..	12	4
1	.. French				
	demi-cannon	..	..	18	9
	1 "clocksgewijs"	..	..	14	7
1		..	..	12	8
<hr/>					
1	5 together 6				

## (35) ON THE LAND BASTION EMILIA.

2	wide-mouthed,				
	in the casemate,	firing	28	..	7
1	"clocksgewijs"	..	..	24	..
1	demi-cannon	..	..	12	4
4		..	..	12	8
1		..	..	6	4
	2 prince pieces,				
	in the guardhouse,	..	..	4	3
<hr/>					
5	6 together 11 pieces				

## ON THE LAND BASTION VICTORIA.

2	wide-mouthed	firing	12	..	5
1	small mortar firing a				
	grenade 15 lbs. "hoog"*	..	..	..	¾

\* Probably this indicates a high trajectory.

Pieces					
Iron	Brass	Stone Shot		Iron Shot	Powder
	1 German demi-cannon	..	..	24	12
1		..	..	6	4
4		..	..	12	8
2		..	..	8	5½
1		..	..	4	3
<hr/>					
8	4 together 12 pieces.				

## ON THE LAND ANGLE AMSTERDAM.

2 "doorgaande" firing .. 6 4

## THE LAND BASTION ERNESTUS.

1 wide-mouthed firing 28 .. 7

2 "doorgaande" .. .. 6 4

2 .. .. 6 4

1 .. .. 8 5½

---

3 3 together 6 pieces.

## ON THE RIVER BASTION MIDDELBURGH.

1 small piece firing .. 3 1½

2 "doorgaande" .. .. 12 8

2 "doorgaande" firing .. 9 6

2 "clocksgewijs" .. .. 12 4

1 wide-mouthed .. 28 12 4

---

8 pieces in all.

## (36) ON THE WALL BETWEEN MIDDELBURGH AND FREDRICK HENDRICK.

2 pieces firing .. 6 4

## ON THE RAVELIN OUTSIDE VICTORIA.

7 pieces firing [no figures given]

5 .. .. [no figures given]

1 .. .. [no figures given]

---

13 pieces in all.

## AMOUNTING IN CANNON ON THE WALL OF THE FORTRESS TO:

49 brass

33 iron

---

Together 82 pieces.

HERE FOLLOWS THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PIECES, BOTH BRASS AND  
IRON, PLACED ON THE OUTER WORKS.

ON THE RIVER SIDE IN THE NEWLY BUILT, SMALL QUADRANGULAR  
WOODEN FORT WITH FOUR BASTIONS, NAMED DELFT:

Iron Brass		Stone Shot		Iron Shot Powder	
1	piece	firing	..	8	4
3	pieces	..	..	[illegible]	3
2	..	..	..	4	2
3	..	..	..	2	1
	2 ..	..	..	1	$\frac{3}{4}$
	2 ..	..	..	4	2
	1 ..	..	..	3	1
	1 ..	..	..	2	1
	1 ..	..	..	4	2
9	7 together 16 pieces.				

(37) ON THE LAND BATTERY AT THE END OF THE NORTHERN  
SUBURB.

3	pieces	firing	..	6	3
	1 wide-mouthed	..	4	..	..
3	1 together 4 pieces.				

AT THE HILL BOUQUET CHINA.

8 pedreroes .. [no figures given]

ON THE LAND BATTERY BEHIND THE COMPANY'S GARDEN.

3	pieces	firing	..	8	4
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AT THE END OF BRUGGESTRAET.

1	piece	firing	..	12	6
1	piece	..	..	8	5
2	pieces together.				

AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER BY THE MIDDELBURGH BASTION.

1	piece	firing	..	6	4
1	..	..	..	4	3
2	pieces	..	..	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$
4	pieces.				

AMOUNTING FOR THE PIECES OUTSIDE THIS FORTRESS ON THE OUTER  
WORKS TO:

8 brass  
21 iron  
—

Together 29 cannon and 8 pedreroes.

(38) The northern suburb, where the richest inhabitants and foreigners live, would be shut in and better secured against all chance of invasion if a redoubt were made on the seashore and another half way between it and the Delft fort, also, if between the same, an earthen wall led from the one to the other, made out of the earth from the moat which must be dug from the sea to the river bank outside the wall.

An Ignographia [iconographia] or groundplan of this fort and the northern suburb in its present State is handed over to your Honour herewith.

I have in the above account represented the fort of Malacca as very strong; some defects however exist in it, e.g. the face of the bastion Victoria can be flanked or commanded, on the river side, neither from the walls nor from the nearest bastions. This ought to be remedied by advancing a small angle so far forward from the breastwork Amsterdam that the aforesaid face could be commanded thence. It was proposed to do this in my time, but the proposal has not been carried out up to the present, in order to avoid incurring still further charges. I mention it now merely that it may be kept in mind, for our forces, during the siege, were able to spy out the fact that these two (39) faces of Victoria could nowhere be commanded, and it was therefore at that point that they attacked the fortress, stormed and took it, because the faces or *Gesichtlinien* are the weakest parts of fortifications, since they lie nearest to the foe and cannot defend themselves, but must get their protection from the nearest flanks.

The face of the bastion Emilia has also a defect, for it also cannot well be flanked. This it should be possible to do by providing it with an angle. If these defects were remedied the fort should be more defensible and indeed almost impregnable, even if attacked by powerful enemies.

A garrison of five or six hundred soldiers, however, must be maintained; the defence must be very careful and, above all, there must be no lack of munitions of war, food and other necessities. It is in this respect a great advantage that this place is so conveniently situated for commerce to the southern and northern parts of these regions and from them hither that it can be reached by sea almost throughout the year and also for the control of the Straits of Malacca (by maintaining some yachts and sloops there) (40) which are constantly navigated by men of many nations, and on which there is now no power that we need respect or fear,

since the power of Johor is much reduced, Aatchin is impotent and has no appearance of once more attaining any considerable power, and the kings of Pera and Queda are of small account; wherefore only European foes are to be feared in this place.

Within the fort, between the bastions Victoria and Ernestus there is a convenient arsenal, built in my time out of an old but strong bit of the Portuguese defences against the wall. It has a flat roof, where it should be possible to place guns for the defence of that part of the wall at need and to bombard the northern suburb. This arsenal is at the present time fittingly furnished with weapons, as appears by the memorandum:

Memorandum of the weapons, hereinafter mentioned, found in the arsenal or armoury here and on loan to certain persons, as found to exist on examination by Commissioners (41) in the month of September, viz.

66	pieces:	Firelocks, to wit:
		62 in the armoury
		4 on loan
		10 useless.
20	do.	Carbines, to wit:
		19 in the armoury
		1 on loan
		1 useless.
40	do.	Pistols, to wit:
		33 in the armoury
		7 on loan
		2 useless.
479	do.	Muskets, to wit:
		91 muskets barrels in the armoury
		74 on loan
		314 in the armoury
		140 useless muskets.
32	do.	Half-pikes, to wit:
		19 in the armoury
		13 on loan.
153	do.	Broadswords, to wit:
		21 in the armoury
		132 on loan
		25 useless.
236	do.	Daggers and 56 useless.
21	do.	Jackscrews in the armoury fit for use.
2	do.	Blunderbusses in the armoury.



	6 pieces: <i>Zeepmessen</i> * in the armoury.
21	do. Boarding axes.
19	do. Partisans
20	do. Halberds.
5	do. Creeses.
410	do. Bandoliers, to wit:
	368 in the armoury
	42 on loan.
5	do. Drum bodies.
11	do. Carbine slings.
356	do. Pikes in the armoury.
426	do. Slings, to wit:
	300 in the armoury
	126 on loan

RECEIVED FOR THE ARMOURY FROM BATAVIA BY THE YACHT  
NIEUW NOORTWIJK.

In Case L <sup>a</sup> A	In Case L <sup>a</sup> D
200 Bandoliers	10 Skins of leather for clings
24 Drum vellums	1000 Charges of gunpowder
	400 Firelock flints
(42) In Case L <sup>a</sup> B	In Cask No. 5
100 Broadwords	4 Drums not hitherto [illegible]
25 lbs. of iron wire	100 Pikes with copper heads in 10
8 double bundles of drum cord	parcels of 10 each
	100 Pikes with iron heads in 10 parcels
	of 10 each
	100 Pike staves in 5 parcels of 20 each

In Case L <sup>a</sup> C
6 bundles of slats for scabbards
100 Skins of red coast-leather
4 lbs. of gray yarn ( <i>gaven</i> ) [probably an error for <i>garen</i> ]
5 Skins of leather for slings.

Furthermore the soldiers here in garrison and on the yachts and sloops in the Straits are suitable fitted out and the powder-cellars are provided with 53,300 lbs. of gunpowder, mostly in glazed martaban jars.

The powder is now manufactured here in the powdermill of 12 stamps, situated outside the fort about a musket shot from the bastion Victoria. It is turned by buffaloes and ought to furnish 13,000 lbs. a year.

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\* Literally "Soap Knives" but probably the name of some special kind of knife or cutting weapon

The military garrison, including officers, consists, at the present time, of 338 men belonging to 3 companies of infantry, each with a lieutenant, an ensign (43) and 5 sergeants, a captain being in command subject to the supreme control of the Governor. Some of the soldiers of each company are properly exercised in rank and file by the drill master, one week with muskets, the other with pikes, on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays in public, both within the fort on the square in front of the Governor's house and outside on the berm (*barm*)\*. This is a practice which, as a matter of necessity, your Honour will do well to continue, when the weather is suitable.

Fourteen of these soldiers are cavalry under the command of the riding master, Jan Gordon, who takes them abroad daily, both morning and afternoon, into field and forest in order to catch the Manicaber kidnappers, who are now our open enemies. Their horses are stabled near the bastion Emilia. This troop must for the present be kept in use.

How the forces above mentioned are distributed and posted on the points and bastions and elsewhere, also the 32 soldiers (44) on the island of Dingding and on the yachts and sloops here in the Straits, can be seen from the following list:

LIST OF MALACCA'S GARRISON OF SOLDIERS AS FOUND ON THE  
31st, AUG. 1678, viz.:

Within the fort in the mainguard at the river gate under						
Captain Govert du Lavay	..	..	..	..	..	1
Lieutenant Hendrick Temmer	..	..	..	..	..	1
Ensign	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sergeants	..	..	..	..	..	2
Corporals	..	..	..	..	..	2
Gatekeeper	..	..	..	..	..	1
Drummers	..	..	..	..	..	2
Clerk	..	..	..	..	..	1
Soldiers	..	..	..	..	..	37
In the Lieutenant's plantations	..	..	..	..	..	2
In attendance on the Governor with a steward and coachman	..	..	..	..	..	8

\*A grassy plain outside the wall of the fort.

## AT THE LANDGATE.

Lieutenant Joan Roosdorn	..	..	..	1
Sergeants	..	..	..	2
Corporals	..	..	..	2
Drummer	..	..	..	1
Soldiers	..	..	..	33

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 39

## (45) AT THE SEA BASTION FREDRICK HENDRICK.

Ensign	..	..	..	..	1
Sergeant	..	..	..	..	1
Corporals	..	..	..	..	2
Drummer	..	..	..	..	1
Soldiers	..	..	..	..	23

At the house of the burgher Roelof Gerritsz 1

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 29
THE SMALL SEA BASTION MAURITIUS WITHOUT GUARDHOUSE  
AND GUARD HAVING ONLY A SENTRY.

## ON THE SEA BASTION WILHELMUS.

Sergeant	..	..	..	..	1
Corporals	..	..	..	..	2
Soldiers	..	..	..	..	15

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 18

## ON THE LAND BASTION HENRIETTE LOUISE.

Lieutenant Johannes Oliver	..	..	..	1
Sergeants	..	..	..	2
Corporals	..	..	..	2
Drummer	..	..	..	1
Soldiers	..	..	..	31

At the house of Hendrick de Backer .. 1

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 38

## (46) ON THE LAND BASTION EMILIA.

Sergeant	..	..	..	..	1
Corporals	..	..	..	..	2

Drummer .. .. .	1
Soldiers .. .. .	33
At the house of Roelof Gerritsz .. ..	1
	<hr/> 38

## ON THE LAND BASTION VICTORIA.

Ensign .. .. .	1
Sergeants .. .. .	2
Corporals .. .. .	3
Drummer .. .. .	1
Soldiers .. .. .	31
In the Captain's compound .. ..	1
In the Ensign's compound .. ..	1
	<hr/> 40

THE SMALL LAND BASTION AMSTERDAM WITHOUT GUARDHOUSE  
AND GUARD, HAVING ONLY A SENTRY.THE LAND BASTION ERNESTUS WITHOUT GUARDHOUSE AND  
GUARD, HAVING ONLY A SENTRY.THE RIVER BASTION NEW MIDDELBURGH ALSO WITHOUT GUARD-  
HOUSE AND GUARD, HAVING ONLY A SENTRY.THE ANGLE OLD MIDDELBURGH WITHOUT GUARDHOUSE AND  
GUARD, HAVING ONLY A SENTRY.

## IN SLAVENBURGH.

Sergeant .. .. .	1
Corporals .. .. .	3
Soldiers .. .. .	11
In the Captain's compound .. ..	1
Overseer ( <i>Mandadoor</i> ) of the slaves .. ..	1
	<hr/> 17

Troops within the fort .. .. . 277

(47) HERE FOLLOW THE TROOPS BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE  
NORTHERN SUBURB, VIZ.:ON THE RIVERSIDE IN THE SMALL RECENTLY BUILT FORT WITH 4  
BASTIONS CALLED DELFT

An ensign as commander .. .. .	1
Ensign .. .. .	1
Sergeant .. .. .	1

Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca 31

Corporals .. .. .	2
Drummer .. .. .	1
Soldiers .. .. .	27
Lent to Guilliam de Slachter .. .. .	1
	<hr/>
	34

AT THE HILL BOUQUET CHINA BY THE WATER WELL THERE

Sergeant .. .. .	1
Corporals .. .. .	2
Soldiers .. .. .	10
	<hr/>
	13

AT THE CUSTOM HOUSE AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER

Corporal .. .. .	1
Soldiers .. .. .	6
	<hr/>
	7

SICK IN HOSPITAL

Corporal .. .. .	1
Soldiers .. .. .	6
	<hr/>
	7

HERE FOLLOW THE MILITARY POSTED BOTH ON THE ISLAND DINGHDING AND ON THE COMPANY'S SHIPS HERE IN THE STRAITS.

AT DINGHDING

Corporal .. .. .	1
Soldiers .. .. .	6
	<hr/>
	7

(48) ON THE YACHT LAREN AND THE SLOOP DE CACAP IN THE  
BLOCKADE OFF PERA

Corporal .. .. .	1
Soldiers .. .. .	9
	<hr/>
	10

ON THE YACHT MUYERBERGH							
Soldiers	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
ON THE YACHT MALACCA AND THE SLOOP ONRUST IN THE RIVER PANNAGIE							
Corporal	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Soldiers	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
							—
							8
ON THE YACHT DE FAAM							
Corporal	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Soldiers	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
							—
							5
Total of the forces both within and without Malacca							370

The drinking water for the garrison is fetched by the Company's slaves by boat from higher up the river. They used also to carry it up and deliver it to the bastions and guardhouses, but this is now done by the soldiers and gunners themselves. It would be well for your Honour to have this continued, so that the honourable Company may get more service from its slaves.

(49) The number of all other servants of the Company, administrators, preachers, merchants, clerks, handicraftsmen, gunners and boatmen amounts to 188, according to the muster-roll. No higher official posted here may go elsewhere to arrange his own affairs or for some special object except by forfeiting his pay until his return to his former or some other office. Moreover no natives, whether half castes, blacks or others, may be taken by the heads of offices and employed as clerks, unless your Honour's consent is first obtained.

The amount disbursed monthly on food and allowances with wine and rice rations to every man appointed to this district and serving here is in accordance with the general orders in force in all other governments in these parts, and may be seen in the specification thereof.

(50) MEMORANDUM OF THE AMOUNT OF VICTUALS AND PAY TOGETHER WITH THE WINE AND RICE RATIONS DISTRIBUTED MONTHLY IN MALACCA TO THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS, EACH ACCORDING TO HIS RANK.

The following is all cash, free from any deductions.

					Cash	Pots	Pounds
				Res.	Stivers	Wine	Rice
Governor	..	..	..	24	..	20	..
Chief Merchant	..	..	..	10	24	17	..

	Re <sup>s</sup> .	Cash Stivers	Pots Wine	Pounds Rice
Preachers (each) .. .. .	10	24	7	120
Captain .. .. .	10	24	7	..
Shabandar .. .. .	10	24	6	..
Merchants, Equipage master, First Lieutenants, Head Surgeon (each) .. .. .	8		6	
Preacher's Widow .. .. .	5	12	4	120
Junior Merchants, Bookkeepers, Lieutenants, Ensigns, Surgeons, Riding Master, Visitors of the sick, Gunner, Foremen (each) .. .. .	4	48	4	120

The following draw 4 re<sup>s</sup>. 12 stivers minus 1 re. (*daar van 1 re<sup>s</sup>. op rekeningh*).

Assistants, Sergeants, Junior Surgeons, Overseers of public works, Ships' Clerks, Master Cooper, Master Builder's Man, Gunpowder Maker's Journeymen (each)	4	12	..	..
Bookbinder, Executioner (each)	4	12	..	40

The following draw cash without deductions.

Midwife and Gunner's Mate (each) .. .. .	4	..	..	..
(51) Assistants, Boatswain, Quarter-master, Provost martial, Trumpeter, Sail- maker, Master Turner, Carpenter's Journeyman, Master Smiths, market Overseer ( <i>besaarw<sup>r</sup>.</i> ), Gaoler, Life Guard, Cook, Chamberlain, Gate- keeper, Second Mate (each)	3	12	..	..
Butler .. .. .	3	12	4	..
Schoolmasters .. .. .	3	12	..	40
Beadle and Sexton (each) ..	3	12	..	40
Custom House Officer .. ..	3	12	..	40

	Re <sup>s</sup> .	Cash Stivers	Pots Wine	Pounds Rice
The following draw cash without deductions.				
Junior Assistants, Hospital				
Orderlies .. .. .	1	36	..	..
The Horse soldiers, life- guards of His Honour the Governor .. .. .	1	36	..	40

The following, each of them, draw 1 re<sup>s</sup>. and 42 stivers monthly with deduction of a  $\frac{1}{2}$ re<sup>s</sup>. or 32 stivers, reckoning the re<sup>s</sup>. at 64 stivers.

Corporals, Craftsmen, Gunnery and Sailors (each)	1	42	..	40
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The following, each of them, draw 1 re<sup>s</sup>. 21 stivers per month, with deduction of 48 stivers or 3 re<sup>s</sup>. reckoning the re<sup>s</sup>. at 64 stivers.

Soldiers Privates .. .. .	1	21	..	40
Malay Writers, each 1 measure or 10 gantang ( <i>gantangs</i> ) .. .. .		..	..	60
The Fiscal's servants each .. .. .		..	..	40

Formerly the rice rations were issued to the garrison by the storekeeper on the roll of the land and sea forces given to him by the clerks, (52) but this plan did not give an honest result, so that orders were given by me that the roll must be given to the garrison bookkeeper for him to see if the number given tallied with the number of men here on land and must be certified by his signature whenever the rolls were brought to me for endorsement before the storekeeper might make any issue. This practice your Honour will do well to continue, as also the checking of the specification of the monthly consumption of food stuffs and of materials furnished respectively by the storekeeper and by the ships' writer.

To the Andragery factory are assigned 1 merchant, 1 bookkeeper, 1 assistant with 1 junior assistant, 1 interpreter, 2 junior surgeons and 19 sailors, 26 in all.

At the present time 59 men are before Pera, engaged in the blockade of that place and stationed on the island of Dingdingh, which the Honourable Company has in its possession, occupying a square wooden fort there provided with 9 pieces of iron ordnance. This island is about two miles long and fully half a mile wide; it has a harbour containing many fish and a convenient roadstead, also good fresh water in several sandy valleys as well as timber and firewood, greatly to the convenience of the before mentioned blockading force which is stationed (53) at the mouth of the great river of Pera, and lies about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the north of it.



Moreover there are also on the yachts and sloops now here in the Straits 226 men, said yachts and sloops consisting of the following:

	Men	Lasts*	Guns
<i>Muyserbergh</i> , having on board	52	150	20 iron, among them 2 brass
<i>Laaren</i> " " "	30	100	14
't <i>Wape van Malacca</i> " " "	27	50	6
<i>Faam</i> " " "	17	20	8 brass
<i>Diamant</i> " " "	17	16	5, 1 iron, 4 brass
<i>Hoop</i> " " "	27	50	4
<i>Bantam</i> " " "	20	30	4
Sloop <i>De Cacap</i> " " "	11	5	2 brass and 4 pedreroes
Sloop <i>De Schar</i> " " "	8	8	2 brass and 2 pedreroes
Sloop <i>Onrust</i> " " "	8	5	4 brass
Boat <i>Dingb-dingb</i> " " "	7	3	4 brass pedreroes only
Total Troops	224		69 guns and 10 pedreroes.

The yacht *Muyserbergh* has gone to Siam, but is due here on its return thence in November; *de Faam* is daily expected from Andragirij; *Laren* with the sloop *de Cacap* and the boat *Dingbdingb* lies before Pera, (54) together with 't *Wape van Malacca* and the sloop *Onrust* in the river Pannagie as a blockading force. *Hoop* and *Bantam* are employed in the Straits and *Diamant* with the sloop *de Schar* lies in the river here in the shipyard for repair. Most of the others are in need of the same.

For the repair of ships there is here, on the other side of the river by the bridge, a convenient shipyard provided with a shed (*loods*) and a house for the master carpenter. At present the necessary number of small craft belonging to the Company is kept there.

The number therefore of the Company's servants both in Malacca and outside amounts to 782 men according to the general muster-roll of them:

\* A Last = 2 tons.

Muster-roll of Malacca and its dependencies, its strength in servants, administrators, merchants, clerks, soldiers, craftsmen, gunners and seamen, present there on the 31st of August and on the yachts and sloops in the Straits.

- 8 His Honour the Governor with his Council and Secretary.
- 2 Preachers
- 5 Junior Merchants
- 1 Bookkeeper
- 2 First Assistants
- 1 Master of the Hospital
- (55) 7 Senior and Junior Surgeons, viz.
  - 2 Senior Surgeons
  - 1 Surgeon
  - 4 Junior Surgeons
- 4 Visitors of the sick
- 2 Gunner with his Mate
- 18 Assistants
  - 1 Bookbinder
  - 1 Ship's Writer
  - 1 Overseer of the Public Works
  - 1 Trumpeter
  - 1 Town Beadle
  - 1 Provost Martial
  - 2 Custom House Officers
  - 1 Marker Overseer (*Besaarwachter*)
  - 1 Gaoler
  - 1 Butler
  - 1 Schoolmaster and Sexton
  - 1 Hospital Orderly
  - 1 Executioner
- 68 Craftsmen with their masters, viz.
  - 6 Masters
  - 3 Journeymen
  - 7 Powdermaker's Journeymen
  - 4 Swordsmiths
  - 10 House Carpenters
  - 9 Ship's Carpenters
  - 7 Smith's Mates
  - 4 Blockmakers, including 1 wheelwright
  - 4 Coopers
  - 14 Bricklayers
- 45 Gunners and Seamen including 1 boatswain, 2 quartermasters on the sampans, 1 cook in the hospital.
- 11 Dos. sick in hospital.

- (56) 340 Soldiers viz.
- 7 Chief Officers to wit:
    - 1 Lieutenant
    - 2 Second Lieutenants
    - 1 Insign as commandant of the Delft fort.
    - 3 Insigns
  - 18 Underofficers
    - 15 Sergeants
    - 1 Riding master (*Stallmeester*)
    - 1 Garrison writer
    - 1 Gatekeeper
  - 20 Corporals
    - 288 Privates including
      - 14 Cavalry
  - 295 {
    - 11 Orderlies
    - 1 Overseer (*mandadoor*)
    - 7 Privates in Hospital

On the island of Dingding and in the river before Pera on the yacht *Laren*, the sloop *de Cacap* and the boat *Dingdingh*.

- 59 Men, to wit:
- 1 Junior Merchant acting as Superintendent (*opperhoofd*)
  - 1 Skipper
  - 1 Bookkeeper (being a first assistant)
  - 2 Assistants
  - 1 Junior Assistant
  - 3 Second Mates
  - 2 Junior Surgeons
  - 8 Soldiers
  - 40 Seamen

(57) At the Dutch factory of Andragirij.

- 26 Men, to wit:
- 1 Superintendent (*opperhoofd*)
  - 1 Bookkeeper (and second in rank)
  - 1 Assistant
  - 1 Junior Assistant
  - 1 Interpreter
  - 2 Junior Surgeons
  - 19 Seamen

The yacht *Muyserberg* on a voyage to Siam manned as follows:

- 52 Men, to wit:
- 1 Skipper
  - 1 Bookkeeper
  - 1 Mate
  - 1 Second Mate

- 1 Third Mate (*derde waach*).
- 1 Junior Surgeon
- 40 Seamen
- 6 Soldiers

The yacht *t Wape van Malacca* engaged in the blockade of the river Pannagie.

- 27 Men, to wit:
  - 1 Mate as skipper
  - 1 Second Mate
  - 1 Junior Surgeon
  - 18 Seamen
  - 6 Soldiers

(58) On the sloop *Onrust* lying in the above named river.

- 8 Men, to wit:
  - 1 Mate
  - 7 Seamen

On the small yacht *De Faam* on a voyage to Andragirij.

- 20 Men, to wit:
  - 1 Skipper
  - 1 Junior Assistant as bookkeeper
  - 1 Temporary third Mate
  - 5 Soldiers
  - 12 Seamen

On the small yacht *De Diamant* in the Straits.

- 12 Men, to wit:
  - 1 Second Mate as skipper
  - 1 Junior Surgeon
  - 10 Seamen

On the yacht *De Hoop* in the Straits.

- 25 Men, to wit:
  - 1 Skipper
  - 1 Mate
  - 1 Chief Surgeon
  - 22 Seamen

(59) On the small yacht *Bantam* in the Straits.

- 17 Men, to wit:
  - 1 Skipper
  - 1 Mate
  - 1 Junior Surgeon
  - 14 Seamen

On the sloop *De Schar*

- 8 Seamen

In addition the Honourable Company supports 39 of its slaves and 26 convicts employed on the public works and each drawing 40 lbs. of rice. The Company's slaves receive also men  $\frac{1}{4}$  and women  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a re<sup>a</sup>. monthly for salt, pepper and arrack. Both receive once a year, on the 1st of January 2 pieces of negro cloth.

Insolvent debtors are, on the demand of their creditors, also confined in Slavenburgh and are given an allowance of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  lbs. of rice a day, if they work on the Company's works, but not otherwise. They are allowed to leave, if their creditors (60) apply for their release, whether they have paid their debt or not.

All the slaves of the Honourable Company and the convicts are lodged within the fort in the strong old high stone castle erected, as before related, by the Portuguese for their security on the foundations of the place the Moorish kings had had there, with a strong square tower of 120 feet which had, however, been so much damaged by the guns during the siege that it was reduced to 50 feet in height. It is situated opposite the bastion Fredrick Hendrick. In the open space between them is the place of execution, where all death sentences are carried out. The castle is now usually called Slavenburgh and also De Misericorde. The sergeant stationed there, who has the oversight of the slaves and convicts, must report every morning to your Honour, as he has done to me, the number going outside to work and the number remaining within.

In the said Slavenburgh there is also a large blacksmith's shop and a convenient loft for a dormitory for the workmen. This loft with the old armoury (61) nearby could be readily converted into a prison, with which Malacca is at present unprovided. The lodging of the slaves is also serviceable for that purpose.

A list was made a short time ago of the number of houses and their inhabitants both within and outside the town and fort and under its jurisdiction over the people of all nations who with their families have fixed their domicile there. The number was found to be 137 brick and 583 adap houses with 4884 persons, viz.

Houses inhabited by the following

		Occupants	
Brick	Adap		Persons
23	107	Dutch Burghers	34
		Their Womenfolk	53
		„ Children	58
		„ Slaves (male)	143

Houses		Occupants		Persons.
Brick	Adap			
		Their Slaves (female)		130
		" " (children)		76
6	220	Portuguese half castes and blacks		358
		Their Womenfolk		562
		" Children		549
		" Slaves (male)		212
		" " (female)		234
		" " (children)		105
				<hr/> 2514
(62)	81	51 Chinese		127
		Their Womenfolk		140
		" Children		159
		" Slaves (male)		93
		" " (female)		137
		" " (children)		60
				<hr/> 716
	27	32 Moors and Gentoos		372*
		Their Womenfolk		100
		" Children		75
		" Slaves (male)		35
		" " (female)		51
		" " (children)		128
				<hr/> 761
	135	Malays		198
		Their Womenfolk		188
		" Children		202
		" Slaves (male)		87
		" " (female)		71
		" " (children)		22
				<hr/> 768

\*The Ms. has 327 which obviously should be 372, as it is in the copy at the Hague.

Houses	Occupants	Persons
Brick Adap		
38	Bugis	38
	Their Womenfolk	24
	" Children	40
	" Slaves (male)	14
	" " (female)	9
		<hr/> 125
<hr/> 137	<hr/> 583	<hr/> 4884

In addition to the above named brick houses there are in the northern suburb 13 being built or rebuilt. It is very necessary that there should be more of these instead of adap dwellings, (63) and that the people should be encouraged and helped in the building of such.

The Company's servants, administrators, merchants, clerks, soldiers and preachers, their womenfolk and families occupy altogether 47 houses, viz.

Houses

14 of the Company's

33 belonging to their servants  
standing within the fort

Dutch Women	24
Their Children	34
" Slaves (male)	105
" " (female)	84
" " (children)	29
	<hr/>

276

Half caste and black women	32
Their Children	50
" Slaves (male)	59
" " (female)	52
" " (children)	26
	<hr/>

219

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495

All these houses and their occupants are in such places and numbers as hereunder, viz.

Within the northern suburb

Brick Adap

128 182 houses

Outside the northern suburb along the seashore

1 39 houses

Within the southern suburb

2 88 houses

		(64) On the way to Boukit China
47	houses	
		On the riverside
9	houses	
		At Bongarij up the river
38	houses	
		Panckelaran above aforesaid Bongarij
11	houses	
		Houses of free persons situated within this fort.
6	3	houses

The following houses standing at Tudon, Ringij, Passaal and Pangoor under the jurisdiction of Malacca and situated on the south side.

17	houses at Tudon
21	" " Ringij
34	" " Passaal
33	" " Pangoor

The following houses standing at Marlimou also situated on the south side.

	61	houses
137	583	houses standing and situated as specified and houses inside the fort belonging to the Honourable Company.
	14	houses
	1	house in the northern suburb by the Custom house at the mouth of the river inhabited by the shabandar
	33	houses situated within the fort and belonging to the Company's servants.

Altogether	185	583
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(65) Here follows the number of the inhabitants of the above named dwellings.

Outside the northern suburb	Men	Wives & Children	Slaves (m.)	(f.)	(ch.)
		Widows			
Dutch	27	35	33	91	81 53
Portuguese, half					
castes and blacks	154	312	258	76	120 78
Moors and Gentoos	372	100	75	35	51 128
Malays	19	17	17	6	9 22
Chinese	94	113	117	48	96 51
Outside the northern suburb on the seashore					



	Men	Wives & Children	Slaves (m.)	(f.)	(ch.)
	Widows				
Dutch	1	1	2	10	6 4
Portuguese, half castes and blacks	19	19	15	5	10 13
Malays	8	10	7		
Chinese	11	6	7	10	7 9
Within the south- ern suburb					
Dutch	2	3	..	5	2 3
Portuguese, half castes and blacks	74	94	121	83	82 ..
On the way to Bouquet China					
Dutch	1	1	2	3	.. ..
Portuguese, half castes and blacks	36	47	71	27	16 ..
Chinese	22	21	35	35	34 ..
On the riverside, towards Bon- garij and Pan- ckelaran up the river, Portu- guese, half castes and blacks	75	90	84	21	6 14
Malays	40	45	48	45	39 ..
Inhabitants of Tudon, Ringij, Passaal and Pongoor under the jurisdiction of Malacca					
At Tudon	17	17	36	6	3 ..
At Ringij	21	20	28	2	4 ..
At Passaal	34	35	38	7	2 ..
At Pongoor	33	21	11	6	7 ..
Inhabitants of Marlimou also situated on the south side					
Malays	26	23	17	15	7 ..
Bugis	38	24	40	14	9 ..

(66) Inhabi-  
tants of the

	Men	Wives & Children	Slaves (m.)	(f.)	(ch.)
houses of the free burghers within the fort of Malacca		Widows			
Dutch	3	13	21	34	41 16
Inhabitants of the dwellings, ex- cluding the men, who being all Company's servants, are not placed here. [15] of these houses belong to the Hon. Com- pany and 33 to its servants					
Brought forward	1127	1067	1083	584	632 391
Dutch	..	24	34	105	84 29
Natives	..	32	50	59	52 26
	<hr/> 1127	<hr/> 1123	<hr/> 1167	<hr/> 748	<hr/> 768 446

All these people, as regards those in the neighbouring places, make a livelihood by trading, and here by fishing, agriculture and all other trade and traffic.

The Dutch burghers Roelof Gerritz and Pieter Leendertsz Drus have each for a period of 10 years the privilege of making, the former bricks and Portuguese roofing tiles here, the latter Dutch and Chinese roofing tiles and flags, or square flooring bricks, as shewn by our resolutions of the 13th Aug. and the 19th Nov. 1677.

FRIDAY, AUG. 13. 1677, DEMTO SR. GOVERT DU LAVAY.

The Dutch burgher Roelof Gerritz has shewn this morning in this Council how he had held hitherto the monopoly of burning and purveying bricks and Portuguese roofing tiles at a fixed price (67) and that now so many Moors and others are participating therein that it is impossible for him any longer to make a living, unless, as the Moors do, he greatly reduces the size of the moulds and uses materials of an inferior quality to that employed heretofore. This, however, he has no mind to, but would much rather beg that he be granted and allowed from now on, for a period of 8 to 10 successive years to have the monopoly of making and burning bricks and Portuguese roofing tiles and to have them made and burnt of such length, breadth and thickness as the old

moulds determine and to furnish the Honourable Company and our inhabitants with them at the following rates, viz. the bricks at 5 and the tiles at nine re<sup>s</sup>. the thousand, as is seen more fully by the petition here below.

To the Honourable Heer Balthasar Bort, Councillor Extraordinary of India, Governor and Director of the town and fort of Malacca and to the worthy Council.

Roelof Gerritsz, burgher in this place, gives notice with all due respect that he, the petitioner intends to erect a kiln for (68) the burning of bricks and Portuguese tiles, for which undertaking (as involving much labour) he, the petitioner will be unavoidably obliged to employ hired workmen, who often, when the work is fully under way and the necessary expenditure has been made, leave their master for trivial reasons and engage themselves to others, as experience has shewn more than once, from which action nothing but injury, damage and loss is to be expected. In order to guard against and prevent this danger, he, the petitioner very humbly prays your Honours to be pleased to grant to him for a period of 8 to 10 years the privilege of the monopoly of baking said tiles and bricks, as also Portuguese roofing tiles, interdicting and prohibiting to all Moors and others henceforth the making of the said tiles and bricks; he, the petitioner undertaking to carry on the said kiln with such diligence that the Honourable Company shall always be able to get a sufficient quantity of the former shape and at the old price, viz. the 1000 bricks at 5 and the 1000 tiles at 9 re<sup>s</sup>. Further that he may also supply the needs of the inhabitants, if not to the curtailment of the Honourable Company. Whereto he, the petitioner awaits your Honour's favourable endorsement.

Which matter was deliberated upon and (69) it was found that the Moors and others, who now meddle with this trade, undersell and try to ruin each other, therefore, with best consideration, the petitioner's prayer is granted and for the period of 10 consecutive years he is permitted to have the monopoly of burning bricks and Portuguese roofing tiles, and of supplying them to the Honourable Company and our inhabitants at the aforesaid price with injunction to all and sundry who have heretofore gained a livelihood thereby to abandon it forthwith, unless they have first obtained from the said Roelof Gerritsz a specific warrant thereto, as this our resolution makes known to all whom it may concern in the memorandum given below.

Each and all are hereby informed that Roelof Gerritsz, free burgher of this town, having sought by a petition in Council the monopoly in the making and burning of tiles and bricks and also of Portuguese roofing tiles required both by the Company (70) and the inhabitants on condition that they must be made at the price

of 5 re<sup>a</sup>. per 1000 bricks and 9 re<sup>a</sup>. per 1000 Portuguese roofing tiles, moreover that they are of the due thickness and length in conformity with the existing mould, therefore we in our Council have for various reasons decided to grant and accord to the aforesaid Roelof Gerritsz the making and burning of bricks and Portuguese roofing tiles for the period of 10 consecutive years, each and all being hereby warned against meddling henceforth with the making or burning of these things without the express consent of the said Roelof Gerritsz, on pain of forfeiture of all the bricks and tiles made.

Thus made and resolved in the Council of Malacca, *datum ut ante*, Friday, 19th Nov. 1677.

Lastly, a certain petition was presented in the Council by the Dutch free burgher, (71) Pieter Leendertsz Drust and it was thereby made known that he, the petitioner, is desirous of burning all sorts of Dutch and Chinese roofing tiles and square flooring tiles for the use of the Honourable Company and the general inhabitants, if so be the privilege be granted for some time to him alone to the exclusion of all others, for otherwise, if granted for only a short and small time, it would not repay his expense and trouble, as he shews by the petition given below in the terms as follow:

To the Honourable Heer Balthasar Bort, Councillor Extraordinary of India, Governor and Director, and to the Council, of the town and fort of Malacca with the dependencies of the same.

Pieter Leendertsz Drust with all due respect (72) gives notice that he, the petitioner is desirous of burning Dutch and Chinese tiles and flooring bricks here in Malacca for the use of the Honourable Company and of other inhabitants, and, since in due course, others (and those just the persons he intends to employ for that work), after gaining their knowledge, might undertake such work themselves whereby he, the petitioner would in such case be greatly prejudiced, he therefore prays herewith that your Honours will grant him, for such time as may please you, the monopoly of carrying on said manufacture with an injunction that no one be permitted to burn any Dutch tiles or flooring bricks and he, the petitioner, undertakes by his vigilance to supply the Honourable Company and others fully and sufficiently, etc.

(73) The petition having been attentively considered and it being deemed no more than just and right that anyone introducing some new art or invention (as is this of the manufacture of flooring bricks in Malacca), should enjoy some privileges as compensation for his necessary expenses and trouble, therefore it is unanimously decided to accede to the request made by the said Pieter Leendertsz Drust and to grant him for the period of 10 consecutive years the manufacture of Dutch and Chinese roofing tiles and square flooring

bricks, with interdiction to all and sundry from henceforth of the undertaking of the same except with the express consent of the aforesaid Pieter Leendertsz Drust.

Thus made and resolved in the Council of Malacca, *datum ut supra*.

The above mentioned 14 brick houses roofed with tiles belonging to the Honourable Company are occupied by its higher officials, viz.

The Governor

The Chief Merchant and second in rank

Two Preachers

The Captain

The Fiscal

The Equipage master

The Head of the Pay office, being also a member of Council

The Secretary

(74) The Secretariat occupied by the chief clerk and his household and assistants

The Garrison Bookkeeper with his family and assistants, this house being at the same time the pay office.

The Cashier

The Surgery where the Head Surgeon lives

The License master.

Moreover the Honourable Company has also a brick house standing at the entrance of the northern suburb at the mouth of the river by the custom house; the shabandar lives in it.

The Governor's house, from top to bottom, has been and still is usually very leaky in rainy and blustering weather, nevertheless we had the roof over the leads removed, because it made the house shake and tremble, whenever it was windy. The house therefore being roofed only with common tiles could not be kept waterproof. Some improvement in this matter has been made gradually, though not without trouble and expense, but not to the extent of its becoming perfect. With that object we have had 8000 glazed roofing tiles burned and put in store, costing 40 re<sup>s</sup>. per 1000, and amounting to 320 re<sup>s</sup>. in order to renew the tiling of the roof in the dry season, viz: the coming months of January and February, which your Honour can have done or use any such means as your Honour may decide upon.

(75) The servants of the Honourable Company and the Christian inhabitants used formerly to have only one ensign and one chief officer in this place, but in 1667 they were divided into two, each with an ensign and officers as follows:

1927] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Company's Servants	Inhabitants
The Hon. Adriaan Lucasz:, Captain	Jacob Sonman, Captain
Sr. Jacob Snickers, Lieutenant	Jan Beeck, Lieutenant
Sr. Adriaan Wijlant, Ensign	Hendrik Moleman, Ensign.

The Company's servants are called to arms when necessity demands, but the inhabitants guard both the northern and southern suburbs especially at night. To meet any small expenses, each household contributes 3 stivers and the Moors altogether 20 re<sup>a</sup>. a month; the former is collected and accounted for by the burgher officers and the latter by the hon. Adriaan Lucasz: aforesaid. The burgher officers recently received a further order from us for their instruction, which is registered in the letter book under the date 19th Aug. 1677, to come every evening between 5 and 6, like the commandant of the fort Delft, to get the password from the Governor.

We, Balthasar Bort, Councillor Extraordinary of India, Governor and Director of the town and fort of Malacca with the dependencies thereof to all who shall see these presents or hear them read, give greeting and make known that it has come to our ears that among the burgher guard of the outer town proper order is not kept (76) and observed on that same watch and ward as our good intent had prescribed on this point, but is defied and disregarded by many. To such an extent in fact, that some, when it is their watch, venture to abandon it before the time and even finally to absent themselves, thus nullifying the ordinances issued for security, tranquillity, peace and the protection from all tumult and disturbance in all that is necessary to prevent the total ruin of the inhabitants, especially in these present times of war, when it is impossible to tell at what moment our present open enemies the Manicabers will fall upon us again; provision must also be made to prevent fire or any other disaster. Since we have very specially at heart the welfare of our subjects, therefore we, with the approval of the Council, have decided, for the reform of the abuses which in course of time have crept in, to order and decree that the officers and common soldiers shall, with due honour and respect, each in his office and rank, recognize and obey their captain, lieutenant and ensign, also all such sergeants and corporals as have been already appointed and recommended by us or may in future be appointed and not to show themselves refractory, on pain of punishment by the Army Council, if occasion (77) arise therefor. That all those who, in either the northern or the southern suburb, are assigned to the burgher guard and remain liable to the same, must, when it is their watch, at the proper time, viz. 9 o'clock in the evening, appear and be present before the house of their chiefs and answer to their

names on the roll, which shall then be called, on pain of a fine of a half re<sup>a</sup>. the first, a re<sup>a</sup>. the second, and any penalty that may be imposed the third time of coming after the roll call or too late. Any who, without obtaining leave or appointing another burgher in his stead, absents himself from his watch or abandons or quits the same before reveille is sounded in the morning shall, the first time, be fined two, the second, four pieces of eight, but the third, shall be subjected to a heavier punishment. They should moreover keep sober on their watch and, if their names are called for patrol or sentry duty, they must obey the order on pain of a fine of one piece of eight: Dutch offenders (*pexerende*) shall in all cases pay double fines. These fines are to be collected and received by the respective chief officers of the outer guard and the delinquents must pay the fines promptly and without gainsaying or dispute. Towards the end of the year these fines, collected in this way, shall be spent on a merry banquet of the burghers. Thus we consider the same to conduce to the maintenance of good order, the welfare of this colony and the service of the Honourable Company.

(78) Thus made, confirmed, published and posted this 19th August 1677. Signed Balthasar Bort.

Should your Honour wish to be able to ascertain each year the increase or decrease of population, the Christian inhabitants or their slaves are usually employed twice a year, in the dry season, in cutting down wood round about this town and fort, so as to secure a better outlook.

As to the jurisdiction of Malacca, it extends about 18 miles on the north side beyond the river Pannagie and Cabo Rochado to Callang, on the south side as far as Moar about 6 miles and inland up to the village of Rombouw. All these three places used to be under Johor and are still to some extent subject to it.

To the northward up to aforesaid river Pannagie and southwards as far as a place called Cassangh, situated near Moar above mentioned, and for 6 miles up the river on both sides there are gardens and orchards planted with various fruit trees, especially mangosteen, durian, and cashew. They are now mostly in the possession of inhabitants, but some, which are out of the way, still belong to the Honourable Company and at fruit-harvest time are farmed out to such persons as apply for them, half of the fruit going to the profit of the Honourable Company.

The others are subject to a payment of 10%.

A list of these orchards (79) and gardens also has been made, as follows:

1927] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Gardens on the N. W. bank	Their owners
The garden of Anthony Pinto	{ Roelof Gerritsz:
and that of Domingos de Monte	
The garden of Louis Cardoso	Maria Rodrigues
" " " Gaspar de Costa	Ursula Swaris
The garden Gaja Beram	Domingos Correa
Cananga, the garden of De Monte	{ Sr. Joan Rosdom
and that of Joan de Castilje,	
also Bale Panjang	{ Sr. Jacob Sonman
The gardens of Anna Texera and	
St. Hieronimo Pequeno	Bretis Perera
The garden St. Hieronimus	Isabel de Fretis
" " Groot Bretang	Sr. Adriaan van der
" " Malij	Walle
" " Cleen Bretang	Sr. Jan Beeck
" " Candam	Joan Pais
" " Chim	Philippe de Costa
" " Agua de Loupa	Fransisca Menesis
" " Tanna Mera	Nicolaas Basteij
" " Viringin	Intje Aron
Gardens on the S. E. bank.	Their owners.
The garden Dou Sontagan	Nicolaas Basteij
" " Cleen Pringij	The widow of the cap-
	tain of the Chinese
" " Songa Pouta	Sr. Hendrik Temmer
(80) " " Tualan, Poelo, Matchap	Christoffel Barbier
" " Bilimbin	Sr. Jan Roosdom
" " Pancalan Avoer	Mr. Joan Meeck
" " Pantjoor	Manuel Velho
On the N. side, along the seashore	
The garden of Bras Pinto	Lourens Noronje
" " Cliban Cleene	The Hon. Co.
" " " Groote,	{ Sr. Sonmans
Battantiga, Condoor	
Tanna Meera, Pantjoor	Sr. Roosdom
Aijer Itam	Symon Ferdinandes
Songoe Baroe	Th Hon. Co.
On the S. side along the seashore	Their owners
Cassangh	The Captain of the
	Chinese Si Sia
The garden Paritchina	Joan Naes
" " Doedjong	{
" " Pongoor	
" " Passael	
" " Toedjong	
" " Marlinoen	
" " Ringij	
" " Tijer Touwer	Sr. Hendrik Temmer



- (81) The following gardens still belong to the Honourable Company and are granted in the fruiting season to the poor inhabitants, who have one half of the fruit for their own and hand over the other to the Honourable Company.

The garden Rumbia		The Honourable Company.	
The garden	Tumagan	}	The Honourable Company.
" "	Sabrangaja		
" "	Battantongal		
" "	Battabrandam		
" "	Morlaccapinda		
" "	Battoeampar		
" "	Groot Cabaca		
" "	Cleen Cabaco		

The lands called Marlimoen, Ringij and Cassan on the south side have each a small stream running out into the sea and level fields. Black Christians of the Roman Catholic faith live there but mostly Malays and Bugis, earning a livelihood in the main from rice plantations.

Battantiga on the north side was recently left by the Malays, who dwelt there, on the coming of the enemy, the Manicabers, and abandoned to them, so that the rice cultivation there and elsewhere also was destroyed and since that time no special planting has been done. Moreover the inhabitants, especially the native Christians, Mohammedans and Gentoos are not much inclined thereto or industrious, although they are continually exhorted to the necessary cultivation and the custom has been adopted of taking from them the land which they had got for nothing from the Honourable Company and giving it to others who were willing to sow it. On one occasion 1200 re<sup>s</sup> (82) were lent without interest by the Honourable Company to some men who seemed inclined to agriculture and fitted for it, but not to have the means for the necessary initial outlay. They were enabled by delivering their paddy or rice free of duty to the Honourable Company to pay off and discharge their debt. This was done in order to encourage these men and others to devote themselves with diligence to the cultivation of land (of which there is no lack here both suitable thereto and fertile), so that some day we may be able by this means to subsist on our own products. In 1668 I had a register made of all the rice plantations with the names of their owners and the quantity produced by each and found that in a year they did not provide more than 38010 gantangs, making, at 6 lbs a gantang 76 loads of 3000 lbs each.

Now since the Honourable Company for its own needs, for its soldiers, sailors and workpeople on land and on the yachts and sloops stationed here in the Straits, as also for its slaves and the

convicts employed on the public works, requires yearly 200 loads and has been supplied hitherto from Bengal or Siam, the fort must usually keep 600 loads in regular store. If the importation from Java should fail, since the supply from the country round is so small that the inhabitants could not by a long way be fed by it and would immediately have recourse to the Honourable Company, and be supplied on payment, may it therefore please your Honour to take care that the storehouses of the Honourable Company are always provided with a supply of good, sound (83) rice, so that, in case of unexpected accidents, there should be no danger of want. At the present time there are 470 loads in store.

In the forests of Malacca people called Bonuaes live a savage life, but are not of a cruel temper, making shift with poor food and raiment for themselves, their wives and children. They used in the time of fruit harvest to come here and even into the fort, but could not be persuaded to remain, although presents of rice and clothes were given to them. For some years past they have not been seen; it is said that they have retreated further into the interior, because the Manicabers were constantly trying to capture them, carry them off and keep them in bondage. They have a language of their own, not understood by other people.

One Jan Jansz Menie, who was shabandar here in 1642, was sent to them and wrote a description of their life, customs and appearance given here below.

Wild elephants have also been seen here in the forest. Attempts were formerly made to capture them, but they were abandoned, because, they were not successful.

Short description or résumé of the life, customs and appearance of the wild men living in the woods up the river in the neighbourhood of Malacca, with special reference to the time of fruit harvest.

Saturday, September 20, 1642.

(84) The collector, Jan Jansz Menie together with Capt. Alexander Mendes and the Malay writer Intje Cadeer has been commissioned by the honourable Governor and the Council to go with all speed to observe and enquire, if possible, into the appearance and condition of the savages now living in the forest up the Malacca river. Wherefore, to incline them to better friendship, 10 pieces of Javanese striped cloth and 6 poor assagais, some money, wine and strong arrack, 1 blowpipe, 1 creese and 24 gantang of good rice have been given to him on behalf of the Honourable Company and also food for himself, his soldiers and boatmen.

Thus equipped he started at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon and arrived [by hard rowing] that evening at the little chapel

of Agua de Loupa. Nothing had occurred during the voyage except that a crocodile seized a certain person, sitting in a prao fishing, by the knee, but did him little harm, since his leg was in the boat. He tarried at the place named until 4 o'clock in the morning and then at moonrise continued his journey and at 9 landed at Pankelan Nanningh. There he learnt from the Pongoelo of the place and head of the estate that the said savages had been there the day before, wherefore he forthwith sent the said Pongoelo and a senior black forester to find out if they were still in the neighbourhood.

In the meantime he had a meal made ready and, when it was eaten, at about 11 o'clock, since he saw that no one came back and he did not wish to prolong his expedition, (85) he set out to meet them. About 3000 paces further on he came upon a filthy, muddy path, made so by the heavy rain which had fallen shortly before, and met one of the two persons he had dispatched. This man reported that he had spoken to the savages in the wood and that they were gathering at a small shed a good distance away.

When, after an hour's march, he came close to the spot, he sent Mendes on and followed him at a gentle pace, until they at last found these wild men there.

Some of them had an assagai with a blowpipe in their hands and a quiver with darts at their sides. Their chiefs sat in the shed naked except that they had a small cloth round about the middle and a bit of linen in front drawn between the legs and fastened to the said cloth at the back to cover their privities; some had only bark fibre round their bodies. They carried their children on their backs in a band of the same material, with which they were firmly bound to the body of the father or mother, the children supported themselves on the hips and held fast with their arms to the shoulders, of the bearer.

Thereafter they went to sit in the aforesaid shed with the chiefs, 3 in number, Oeleballangh Jampe, Batin Sappe and Posapa by name. They said that they (86) had a higher chief living with the rest of the savages in the neighbourhood of the river of Cas-sangh without mixing with any other people. They sometimes separated into bands, one here and another there, so that, if they were all collected together, men, women and children, they would number about 3000, of whom only about 40 were here gathered. They had started from their place of abode fully 300 strong and all these and more could be got together within two days from the estates where they were scattered. These savages often go to visit the others on the further coast near Pahangh, even as far as Patania.

When we had spoken thus far with the savages, they asked us to be pleased not to take it amiss that it was their custom for strangers on coming among them to take on oath in token of not

wishing to do them harm or injury. This oath is taken in the following manner: they take a little water, put in some salt and then plunge a creese into it, speaking these words: "If it is our intent to do harm, then may the creese of itself hurt us." Then each drinks a little of the water twice.

This, which is held among them to be a very great oath, (87) they did not demand from us, but the collector, Menie, himself took some arrack, drank it and said: "If we have come to do you harm, may this arrack turn into poison and do us harm." This rite was performed by Captain Mendes, the Malay writer and each of the three chiefs of the savages also twice over.

Thereupon they entered into conversation with the savages and asked them to send someone to Malacca, offering to leave behind, as hostages for the envoys' return and good reception, Captain Alexander Mendes and the Pongoelo and his wife and following, but they would not agree to it, for they said they had become alarmed since some of the Manicabers had deceived them with fair words, surrounded them and carried off their wives and children. Wherefore now they trusted no one.

Meanwhile their womenfolk, clothed just like the men, arrived with the young children. They are usually well favoured; they wear their hair short, so as not to be held fast anywhere when they are running through the forest; they have high hips, which, I believe, is brought about in their youth, because the quite small children are not so; they are whitish yellow in colour, have a swaying (88) gait, almost as if they were dancing, and run at a trot, so that, before one can look round, they are out of sight. Their belief is in conformity with the nature God has given them, they know of no religion. Their language is very strange, but very agreeable among themselves.

These three chiefs could speak Malay, Battin Sappe much better than the others and he also showed himself much more civilized. They liked drinking strong arrack. They said that, if the collector Menie wished to visit them again and they were sojourning at the time in the same neighbourhood, they would go to the river side or to Panckelan Banir, even as far as Poulou, which is about 2 miles nearer than Panckelan Nanning.

He distributed to them some cloth, salt and rice, a creese, 6 asagais, 1 blowpipe and, to the children, some double stivers, which they hang round their necks.

Sometimes one finds bezoar stones in their possession; they get them from onkas and apes.

Their food consists of apes, wild yams, (*oebisen*) buffaloes, pigs and other wild animals all of which they first lure to them by their charms and then dispatch. The elephants they kill in the

following manner: one of them seizes the beast by the tail, sets his feet on the elephant's heels (*back scheenen*) and gives him various wounds in the body with an assagai. The elephant, feeling himself wounded, runs round and round in the hope of (89) injuring his antagonist, who, however remains immovable, so that the elephant cannot get rid of him. Meanwhile the others come up and stab and wound the beast with their assagais, until he falls to the ground. Sometimes these creatures in their pain uproot trees to use as weapons of offence against their enemies and occasionally succeed in doing them an injury.

Among these people one sometimes, with luck, finds eagle wood and calambac; resin can be had from them in great quantity, so that the Honourable Company could reap great profit from them, if they could be disposed and roused thereto. The greatest attention must be paid to this matter. With a view to this the collector Menie ordered the Pongelo to remain among them 3 days longer and to try to persuade them to come and confer with us at certain fixed times.

They were very eager for clothes, rice, tobacco and silver rings. They liked drinking strong arrack, so that almost all of them got intoxicated. They hastened to fetch certain roots given to pregnant women, who cannot bring to birth, wood for fever (*bout voor de coortse*) and root fibres for inflammation and gave them to the collector Menie.

He took leave of them about 3 in the afternoon and got into the (90) prao. At nightfall he came to the before mentioned church, Agua de Loupa, and at 9 o'clock to the town gate of Malacca and forthwith made his report to the Governor.

The Honourable Company has not hitherto been able to make money by its estates and lands, because, in the early days, they were apportioned for cultivation and house-building to inhabitants, who from long continued occupation have become owners. Many of them have alienated the properties by sale or otherwise, without paying anything to the Honourable Company. This custom still continues, for few of the inhabitants have means, most of them being poor, and they have been reduced to a still meaner and worse condition by the recent Manicaber war.

The chief village, Nanningh, is subject to Malacca together with the neighbouring villages and hamlets, Melecque, Perlingh, Inar Commoi, Cherenapoetoe, Bataampa and Sabangh about 6 miles up the river in the valleys there lying between the hills. They are inhabited by Manicabers and Malays, who were under Portuguese jurisdiction and after the conquest of Malacca made a covenant as vassals of the Netherlands and the Honourable Company, as agreed and determined in certain articles in the year 1641 on Aug. 15., as follows:

(91) *Articles and Conditions* agreed, concluded and determined between the Honourable Joan<sup>s</sup>. Van Twist, Councillor extraordinary of India and Governor of the town and fort of Malacca, together with his Honour's Council for the one part and Toulella Palawan Captain and Radja Mera Perpatti Sowattan Maranga Matran Mara and Bansade Radje, elders of Nanningh and the surrounding villages for the other part:

In the first place the aforesaid Captain and elders in the name and on behalf of the whole community promise and swear to the illustrious High and Mighty States General of the Free, United Netherlands, to his Highness and his Grace Frederick Hendrick Prince of Orange, etc., to the Directors of the United East India Company in these parts, to the Honourable Governor General and Council of India, as also the Honourable Governor and his Council here in this town and to all commanders appointed over them, or in future to be appointed, to be faithful and true and each and all to the utmost of their ability in all due subjection, to behave to the State of the Netherlands as is their bounden duty as faithful vassals without undertaking anything either directly or indirectly against the said State, abrogating and annulling all contracts and covenants made before this time with the rulers appointed by the King of Spain or of Portugal.

## 2

And in case any of the people of Nanningh, Manicabers and Malays (92) contrary to the contents of this contract, should run away or be disobedient to the Governor and his officers, the aforesaid Raja and elders are bound on injunction by the Tammagon or fiscal to hand over the same to be punished by the said Governor and Council as he deserves.

## 3

In the event of a Manicaber inhabitant of Nanningh dying without leaving wife, children or lawful heirs, the Company, as was the custom in the time of the Portuguese, shall have half and the Captain of said Nanningh similarly the other part of the property left by the deceased and, if there are heirs (as aforesaid), the Company is to have a tenth, whereof the Captain shall have half.

## 4

If any Manicaber inhabitant of the said Nanningh kills another and takes to flight, the Honourable Company shall have all the goods of the same without exception, unless the delinquent left a wife and heir who retains half, as stated before in the case of death.

## 5

The aforesaid captains, elders and inhabitants of Nanningh both Manicabers and Malays remain bound to render to the general East India Company a tithe from the rice fields and of all

other fruits and for the betel and pepper plantations yearly such rents as have hitherto been customary according to their size on the decision of the valuer (93) of plantations (*valiadoor des bortos*) advised by the Commissioners of the Honourable Company and, in the event of the said inhabitants selling said plantations among themselves, they shall be bound to pay to the Company or its commissioners the tenth of the price in cash as has been hitherto customary.

## 6

Provided that at the time of the collection of the aforesaid tithe for the benefit of aforesaid Dutch East India Company the said Company shall be bound to issue of the aforesaid cultivators (*gaarders*) 200 gantangs of nelly or unpounded rice for their maintenance and also a piece of linen cloth and one ditto of cashee (*cassa*) as recompense to the Captain of said Nanningh.

## 7

When the aforesaid nelly as well as the money for the plantations has been collected the Captain shall have the tithe of the aforesaid incomings both goods and money, as was the custom hitherto, the writer of the said Captain shall have 5 crusadoes and the valuer of said plantations and said nelly also 5 crusadoes for their sole fee and no more.

## 8

Any vessels coming with betel from Nanningh are bound to lie before the warehouse (*banghsaal*) and to pay as dues 100 in the 1000 of said betel leaves, also for each prao one crusado for the benefit of aforesaid Company, also for the servant of the Collector or Shahbandar 100 leaves out of each betel sack (hens, tobacco and milk in bamboos are excepted, these have been exempt from any dues).

## 9

Also that aforesaid Company or the collector be under obligation (94) always to keep a servant in the warehouse to supply the people coming with the aforesaid boats with pots, platters, waterpots, parangs (*parangb*) to chop their wood, candles or lamps, also two meals, one schoupa (that is 1½ lbs.) of rice for each person, and also salt or fresh fish and vegetables in proportion; further provisioning being, in the case of long delay at the warehouse, at the charge of said persons.

## 10

And when any praos of the Company are present in Pankelan and the inhabitants of above mentioned Nanningh come down with their own boats (which they are otherwise not allowed to do), they are bound to pay to the Honourable Company or its collector 2 tangas (*tanges*) for each prao besides the dues of their goods as aforesaid.

## 11

It is also granted to the inhabitants that said collector or his servants shall not have power to exact the betel dues before the price of said leaves has been fixed in the warehouse and the same have been sold in order to prevent loss of the same by damage to said leaves.

## 12

If any praos or baloons (*baloijs*) arrive at Pankelan Nanning (*om leegh*)\* the owners of goods are bound to deposit aforesaid goods in the house of the jure Pankelangh or inspector (*visitateur*) of the said boats until he has procured carriers from Nanning, the fee of aforesaid jure Pankelang, viz. 5 crusados a month, to be paid by the Honourable Company.

## 13

(95) If the inhabitants of Nanningh wish to depart from their dwelling place and go elsewhere, they must show said collector a permit in writing from the Captain and stamped with the seal of the Company, together with a fowl as a present from each person for the profit of the Honourable Company aforesaid.

## 14

Similarly if any Manicabers come from other places to dwell or travel in aforesaid Nanningh, they shall be obliged as heretofore, to pay per head one real of eight in specie to the General East India Company, and if he goes away without the consent of the collector or tommagon and without paying the poll tax, as above, he shall forfeit over and above that sum a fine of 10 reals to the aforesaid Company.

## 15

If any male or female slaves run away from Nanningh to Malacca to become Christians, the owners of such slaves shall have as compensation the just half of the price of said slaves according to the valuation set by the tommagon, fiscal, bailiff or collector, and no more.

## 16

But if any slaves of the Honourable Company or of the inhabitants of Malacca, whether Christians or Moors, flee to Nanningh or the surrounding places, the aforesaid captains and elders, together with all the inhabitants, without exception, of these places, shall be bound to detain the runaways and to bring them promptly to Malacca, in order to hand them over to their masters, (96) receiving therefor as a recognition and acknowledgment from said owners 5 crusados, and no more.

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\*The original here has *in Pankelan van Nanning om leegh comende*, which might naturally mean "arriving at Pankelan from Nanning" but can hardly do so in view of the *juru pangkalan* being expected to procure carriers from Nanning. This must have been a case of vessels coming from downstream. The sense of *om leegh* is not clear.



## 17

And in order that the purport of above article may be observed without violation, said heads promise and vow for themselves, as well as in the name of the whole community, to deliver within the space of one month to the Governor or his deputy all runaway Christian male or female slaves acquired both during the siege and afterwards and sold to the Manicabers, without concealing or holding back any of the same under any pretext or cloak whatsoever.

## 18

Provided that they receive as ransom for those whom they acquired during aforesaid siege their value according to the approved assessment of the Governor and his Council; in whose discretion it shall be to take possession of aforesaid slaves for said price or to allow their owners to retain them.

## 19

Nevertheless, if any free Malacca Christians wish to sojourn in said Nanningh and maintain themselves by agriculture or betel planting, permission shall be granted to them, on condition that they pay the taxes along with the other inhabitants, provided that such sojourn is voluntary and not due to overpersuasion or constraint on the part of any man.

## 20

Aforesaid elders, as above, promise to hand over to the commissioners of said Governor in Malacca within the time appointed (97) all the weapons, i.e. pikes, muskets, daggers, hangers, swords, also gunpowder, matches, ball and other ammunition, nothing being reserved or excepted, without retention or concealment, much less buying, selling or transporting elsewhere, of any of the same, on pain of loss of life and property.

## 21

Which penalty shall also be incurred and incontinently paid by all who, after the making of this present contract, shall sell any Christians, whether bond or free, to Moors or heathen, or try to withdraw or carry off the same from their masters, whether with their good will or by force, more particularly such as have such Christians circumcised or try forcibly to induce them thereto.

## 22

The aforesaid inhabitants of Nanningh shall not be permitted to trade or traffic with any foreign nation directly or indirectly, but are bound to bring their goods down the Malacca river only, without holding any other traffic or communication with aforesaid foreign traders along the river Pannagie on any pretext whatever on pain of forfeiting life and goods.

And in order that the purport of the points and articles stated above may be followed and observed inevitably and in all particulars the aforesaid Toulella Palawan is, by common consent, appointed and given power by the Governor and Council as chief and captain over said Nanningh and its territory, and Radja Mera Perpatty Souwatan Maranga Matta Mera and Bangsa Radja as elders and councillors with the same (98) Toulella Palawan; without whose advice and approval nothing touching the government and administration of Nanning shall be discussed or decided, on pain of nullification and loss of office; wherefore blank notes stamped with the sign of the Honourable Company should not be allowed to be distributed by the clerk, Intje Cadaer (in M. S. *Vadaer*), for the writing of any orders or passes unless the same appears to be\* by said common consent (*ten sij den selve blijcke [v. l. deselve blijken], van voors gemeen consent*).

Thus done, resolved and agreed by the Governor and his Council together with the aforesaid Toulella Palawan and the elders (except Radja Mera) and for greater security signed by both parties. Concluded in the town and fort of Malacca, this 15th Aug. 1641, and signed Joan van Twist, Anthonio Hurt, Gerard Herbers, J. Lamotius, Jan Verpoorten, Pieter Baack, Laurens Forsenburgh, Jan Jansz Menie, sabandar in the presence of me, Adriaan Hoofkamp, Secretary.

In many particulars they have not observed these articles, particularly the payment of the Company's revenue from the paddy crops and from fines; nevertheless they shewed themselves tolerably obedient until 1644, when the Governor Jeremias van Vliet went thither in person on the 3rd Feb., having with him the captain, Laurens Forsenburgh, the sabandaar, Jan Jansz Menie, the fiscal, Gerrit Rijser and the secretary, Joan Truijtmann with

60 Dutch soldiers

60 armed inhabitants of Malacca

40 blacks, among them 20 Caffers.

His intention was to compose the strife which was raging between some chiefs and the common people, to punish the ill doers, and to get out of their hands the black Christians, both free and bond, and the arms fallen into their possession during (99) the siege of Malacca. At first they made good payments, and agreed to everything the Governor demanded from them, but when their neighbours, the Rombouwers, had the same demands made of them, including the restitution of certain stolen goods and of the village Tampin inhabited by a resident of Malacca, one Alexander Mendos, to which they laid claim in virtue of a gift from the king of Johor, though they at first made good promises, they

\*Or "unless they appear to him to be," if the first reading is adopted.

delayed performance of them. His Honour therefore sent Captain Forsenburgh and sabandaar Menie with 6 Dutch soldiers to them from Nanning to hasten the matter somewhat.

The men of Rombouw ambushed them on their journey thither, in the woods and they were all massacred, before the arrival of the force of 20 men dispatched to their help. These men also were instantly attacked by the Rombouwers from the woods and, after the loss of the sergeant, who commanded them, they were scattered. The Governor had gone to their support with all his remaining force, but was hard put to it to withstand the enemy and make good his escape when attacked during his retreat. In-somuch that it was not without having come through great peril that, coming down the river with his men, he arrived once more in Malacca. He left his chest behind with 13000 to 14000 reals in it and it fell into the hands of the pursuers. Thirty men were murdered or fell in the fight with the men of Rombouw.

An attempt was made to take vengeance for this at once by making ready, on the day after the return of the Governor to Malacca, an expedition of 300 men under the command of the chief merchant, Jan Hermansz.; but, after they had been summoned to arms and mustered, there arose a sudden alarm and outcry in the suburb that the Manicabers were coming to Malacca in great force, which, although false, caused great dejection and the expedition was put off to a better opportunity. It was not taken up again until the 8th Feb. 1645 under the command of the secretary, Joan Truijtmán and Lieutenant Hans Cruger with

(100)	10 Dutch military officers
	16 armed men from the burgher company
	80 inhabitants of Malacca armed as soldiers
	60 Dutch sailors
	60 inhabitants of Malacca as carriers of the baggage and food
	14 slaves
	<hr/>
	350 men

Their task was to attack and exterminate the men not only of Rombouw but of Nanning also, because they had combined and united with the former since the aforesaid treachery and massacre, though the men of Nanning pretended that they had been persuaded and constrained thereto by their neighbours of Rombouw, these being stronger than themselves.

The result achieved by our troops was of no great importance, for they only burnt the houses of the nearest village, Melecque, and destroyed the orchards and paddy plantations. They were unable to follow up their first attempts, through lack of food and  
1927] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

by reason of the fatigue of our men. Moreover the enemy were gathering together and their number had already increased according to the report of our forces) to 2000 armed men.

Up to that time the enemy had suffered so little annoyance that they went on robbing and plundering every day both in the jungle and along the shore (*strant*), carrying off our inhabitants and their slaves and using them in their own service or selling them elsewhere. If they were not able to take alive, but had it in their power to kill, they did not refrain from doing so.

A stronger expedition was therefore undertaken on the last day of Feb. 1646 by the Governor Arnold de Vlamingh van Outshorn under the leadership of his second in command, the Honourable Valerio van Gistelen. It consisted of 570 men, viz.

(101)	290 whites
	190 inhabitants of Malacca
	90 slaves
<hr/>	
	570 men in all.

This army, after much fatigue and some skirmishes with the enemy, penetrated on the sixth day as far as the chief village, Nanning, burning the houses and laying waste the paddy plantations. They also felled about 700 to 800 coconut palms and pinang trees, with which they made a strong palisade and established themselves within it to allow our troops, which were very weary, to get some rest and to enable them to make a better defence against assaults of the enemy, if any should be attempted, and an estimate of the length of time their remaining supplies of food and ammunition would last. They found themselves so badly provided, especially with bullets, gunpowder and matches that they deemed it inadvisable to break further through the thick Rombouw jungle. They thought it better to turn back to Malacca after staying two days, so that they might not appear to be fleeing from the enemy through fear, but to be turning back satisfied, having arranged matters to their liking.

The damage already suffered by the enemy had, however, filled him with such dismay that he hoisted a flag of truce to get speech with us. His request was granted the more readily that we had already decided for the reasons given to turn back and we came to an agreement to the effect that our troops were to retire thence and that they (the enemy), after the lapse of five days, were to send their envoys to Malacca to make peace, as actually came to pass; the enemy having first restored to our troops in the camp three slaves they had stolen.

On the 10th March our force arrived in Malacca. Not one man of ours had been killed by the enemy on this expedition, a few were wounded, but not severely, except one who afterwards died.

The aforesaid envoys appeared on the appointed day in Malacca, viz. 7 persons, among them only two (102) of good standing, Chilly Molucco, brother-in-law of Lella Maradij, chief in Rombouw, and Catip Itam Moeda, son-in-law of the shahbandar there. They brought letters with them and presents from the said Lella Maradija and the shahbandar and the elders in Rombouw. They had full powers, in writing, to conclude a lasting peace with the Governor and Council in Malacca. On their request five more persons of quality were added to the original two, and they then put forward the following demand:

Firstly, three persons of standing in Rombouw and the same in Nanning to be punished with death for the murder of Captain Laurens Forsenburgh and shahbandar Jan Meni; further also three of the common people for each of the others who were with the two named and were also killed.

Secondly, restitution of the stolen chest of Governor van Vliet with its contents or the value of the same, estimated at 2000 re<sup>s</sup>.

Thirdly, return of all the stolen persons.

Fourthly, payment of all the cost of the expeditions.

Fifthly and lastly, to make acknowledgment of their misdeeds and publicly to ask pardon, with a promise to do such or the like no more in future, but to deal with us, as also with the inhabitants of the villages subject to us, in all friendship and good faith, to repair to their abodes and do us due homage, as was customary in former times.

This demand, as touching the execution of their people, distressed (*allereerde*) them and they begged for pardon; they promised, if it were granted, to carry out all the rest, as far as (103) should be possible. It was decided to refer this matter to their Honours in Batavia, so they were told that pardon must be asked for there. An offer was made to allow them to go thither; if they were disinclined to do this, they must stay here to await of their Honours; this last they elected to do.

On June 4, 1646 their Honours' rescript and order by letter of the 22nd May was brought here, the purport being as follows:—

The ensign Anthonij Kerckhoven has handed to us your Honour's esteemed letter and enclosures of March 29. last, from which we have learnt with great satisfaction the success of the force equipped against the rebels of Nanning and Rombouw under  
1927] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

the command of the chief merchant, Valerius van Gistelen, and that, by the damage done to their houses and paddy and the destruction of them the same were brought to the point of earnestly begging for pardon for their rebellion and for the murder committed on Captain de Vries and shahbandar Jan Menie, and have offered to live henceforth under a valid contract in peace with us as obedient children and that the matter had advanced so far that twelve reputable persons had arrived in Malacca as envoys to remain there in safety till further orders from us and then to make a final decision.

We have read the detailed report of the conference already held by your Honour with them over the matter and his opinion as to how it should be handled and, among other things, have seen to our regret, what we long ago recognized as the truth, that the Governor van Vlieth was largely the cause of the aforesaid murder and of the rupture with those peoples by reason of his demands, accompanied by violent threats, for the completion on the next day (104) of what he had agreed with them should be done after three days, a demand they proved to be impossible of fulfilment; and also that this was the sole reason for their taking such a desperate resolution and continuing the war up to the present time.

We agree with the demand for heavy punishment therefor and that they deserve to be executed as an example for others, but, on the other hand, taking into consideration the fact that our officials have been to a great extent the cause and that they (the rebels) have now come to make submission, we feel that it would engender bitterness rather than reverence, together with the continuance of the war (which our superiors would be glad to see ended), and that by the shedding of a little blood the dead cannot be brought back to life; therefore we wish the matter had been settled by your Honour, whereby you would have acquired great respect and credit. However, since the case for certain reasons has been referred to us, we have decided, after deliberation, in order to come to a sure peace with these people, whereby the welfare of Malacca will be greatly increased, to write orders to your Honour to remit the death penalty in our name, provided that prompt restitution is made of the stolen goods and slaves, giving them strictly to understand that our consent would not have been given to this, if your Honour and the Council in Malacca had not so urgently interceded for them; endeavouring moreover to make such a valid contract with them under advantageous conditions as your Honour and the Council shall find to pertain to the greatest service of the Company and to the progress of Malacca. Stipulate also that they must make convenient roads from their villages to Malacca so as to have at all times fit and safe access from the one to the other; and see to it that on our side the terms are always rigidly

adhered to, whereby we trust that, in time, great service and profit will be derived from the said and other surrounding peoples, (105) whereto all good usage and friendly treatment must be contributed by the government.

On receipt of this writing and in accordance with it the envoys were told that their Honours aforesaid remitted the punishment of death, which had been richly deserved, if they satisfied the other articles proposed. But they announced that they were not empowered to enter into a final contract without first acquainting their chiefs, Lella Maharadja and Radja Mera with our desires. They asked us therefore to write to them or send some of our people to them to settle everything. The latter we rejected, but the former we agreed to.

Thereupon various letters were exchanged between us. We insisted that they should either send proxies to make the contract or empower their envoys in Malacca to do so. They, on the other hand, insisted that we should send for that purpose our shahbandar and Malay writer to them, or, if we could not agree to that, release their envoys in accordance with the assurance given them that they should return unharmed, even if no agreement were reached, actually daring to assert that it was not they but we who had first asked for an armistice and peace. They persisted so obstinately in this demand that they gave us clearly to understand that they would never agree to our wishes even if we should, in defiance of our given word and written promise, illtreat the envoys.

The point was deliberated over again and again, and at long last it was decided by a majority of votes in the Council to send to them, in accordance with their persistent demand, the shahbandar, Abraham Steen, and the Malay writer, Intje Cadeer, with the addition of a sergeant and six soldiers and moreover (106) to release all their envoys. This came to pass and our people having set out on the 8th Sept. 1646 and returned on the 21., their Honours in Batavia were acquainted by letter with their success thus:

The matters between us and the Manicabers, which were still unsettled at the date of our last writing, have been fully arranged. Before we could reach this end with that people we were perforce obliged to send our shahbandar thither with their envoys. This was such a dangerous undertaking, that some members of the Council (the President being one of these), could not agree to it, nevertheless, in order to avoid all reproach, they had the agreement made (*latende... d'overeenstemingh... plaats hebben*), according to old custom in a critical council, as may your Honours be pleased to see registered in the minute book, under date Sept. 1st, the actual views expressed by each of the members of the Council. Now God be praised, all has turned out reasonably  
1927] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

well without mishap. The Compact, with our good intention, could not be brought about in as orderly a manner as we desired, owing to the uncivilized character of these people, in no respect more evident than in their aversion to much writing. Nevertheless they have agreed to all we have demanded from them, in the articles dispatched to your Honours per *Den Haen*, except the payment of the expenses both of the successive expeditions and of their stay here, and that for the reason (which is in fact a true one) that they are not able; also as regards the goods which were taken from Governor van Vlieth or the value thereof, together with the slaves whom they, from time to time, (107) have stolen from here. But they are to pay in three instalments within nine months, because one and another thereof is already lost and consumed and almost all the slaves have been sold at a small price here or there. They have meanwhile restored to us, as an earnest (*bij provisie*), 6 stolen slaves, 1 silver candlestick, 2 silver spoons, 8 silver trenchers (*telloren; H. C. tailjoren*), 1 Spanish cassock, 1 undergarment, 1 red satin doublet with gold buttons and a small silver plated handle (*hengseltje*)\* mostly belonging to Governor van Vlieth.

Whereupon it ensued that Radja Mera with six of his councillors from Nanning appeared in Malacca in obedience to a summons and the following resolution was taken:

Friday, 25. Oct. 1646.

Whereas, according to our last letter, Radja Mera arrived here yesterday with six of his principal councillors in order to be present at the acceptance and confirmation of the provisional peace lately made with our shahbandar, Abraham Steen, it has been decided, on the motion of the President, to give audience to-morrow to said Radja Mera and his councillors or orang kayas, but to have them interrogated, before appearing before his Honour in the Council chamber by two commissioners from the Council as to their purpose in coming here, so as to keep those revolted peoples, on this opportunity, which has brought them once more under our government, in all humility and to that end to cause them, at the next meeting, to stand with uncovered (108) heads and make confession of the rebellion they have been guilty of, and then to read aloud the pardon before them all in Portuguese and Malay and to hand it over in the presence of the Chinese captain, Notchim, so that it may the sooner and better be spread abroad among this community. But, when the aforesaid has been carried out without cavil, it is also decreed, in order to shew our good intention and to make them grateful, to honour said Radja Mera with a black velvet cassock (*caedjack*) edged with gold

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\*It is not clear whether this is some independent object or part of the furnishings of the doublet (possible a contrivance to hang it up by).



galloon (*gallon*) and each of his orang kayas with a garment and turban. The making ready of all these is laid upon the shahbandar.

They comported themselves in such a way that thereupon the pardon was read and handed over, its purport being as follows:—

#### Pardon.

Whereas Radja Mera, chief of Nanning and the department villages and hamlets Melecsqe, Perlun, [Perlin], Cammoy, Batouampa, Cherenepoete, Sabangh and Inar, being under the jurisdiction of this town of Malacca, has approached us, not only on several occasions by letters sent to us, but also in person with some of his chief councillors and has humbly begged forgiveness and pardon for himself and his subjects for their insolent rebellion against our State and especially for that he, for no valid reasons, maintained opposition to this fort and its good inhabitants until God Almighty was pleased to bless the weapons we justly took up, and whereas, (109) by our last expedition, we once more, on the 8th March of this year brought their land under our power and authority, therefore we, the President and Council of Malacca, having regard to their said humble petition, have been inclined to mercy, since no good whatever is done to our cause by shedding men's blood, in view of this and many other good reasons, on our express intercession, our Supreme Government in these parts, their Honours the Council of India have, in their last letter, pardoned the aforesaid penitent with his councillors and all the people subject to him and remitted the well-deserved death penalty. Herewith then we also, the President and Council aforesaid, on their further faithful promise to shew renewed obedience, have decided to grant this act of pardon for above named Radja Mera with all his councillors and the people under them and within the jurisdiction of our State of Malacca, both those living in above named villages and in Nanning, in the name and on behalf of the High Mighty States General, His Highness Frederick Hendrick by the grace of God Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, etc., and the directors of the chartered East India Company of the United Netherlands together with the Honourable Council of India, our superior government of these eastern countries, residing in Batavia. We insert also hereby that henceforth we will think no more of past happenings and will regard and treat them henceforth altogether as our obedient vassals without doing the smallest harm or offence to their people or permitting such to be done, as has been in the past.

(110) In confirmation of which we have appended hereunder our customary sign manual together with the seal of said Company. Dated in the town and fort of Malacca the 15th Nov. 1646.

The men of Rombouw being once more accepted as friends and allies by the contract made with the shahbandar, Abraham Steen aforesaid, the agreement has been adhered to, but they failed to carry out their duty and promise in the further restitution of what they had stolen, for in 1647 they had paid to the junior merchant, Meydert Clinckert, who had been sent to them, only 81 <sup>re</sup> weight of silver plate, 79 small gold buttons set with small diamonds, 38 gold buttons, 2 old bloodstained hats and 2 do. ragged pairs of breeches, 270 gantangs of paddy and 22½ reals in cash (*contant*). Moreover they were urged harshly by our people to further restitution and satisfaction, because they always excused themselves on the ground of inability, since there were no more slaves or goods in existence and they were incapable through poverty of giving money in their stead, being a people that will always lose their property rather than their lives. However the tithe of the paddy crop the people of Nanning allowed us to have, if we sent our people for it to their villages, but still no more than they chose, and that so small a quantity that the expenses incurred were greater than the proceeds (as was the case also with what said Clinckert dispatched), therefore our people afterwards were satisfied if they came in person here to Malacca every year to pay a definite amount in money. This amounted to from 28 to 30 or 35 <sup>re</sup> less than the fees and presents which were made on these occasions to Radja Mera and the orang kayas (who usually brought a goat and a little betel or sirij with them as an offering), but was nevertheless (111) continued so long as they did not fail in their chief duty of obedience, and, if they complained of bad crops and dear rice, they were released also, on their petition, from the contribution, though scarcely worthy of the name, in view of its small amount. This happened in the years 1675, 1676 and 1677, when we contented ourselves with their coming down the Malacca river to the frontier daily bringing their betel leaf, fowls and sometimes also a little tin; they were at liberty to take back with them what they needed in rice, salt and cloth, as they did.

All these particulars I have collected from far and near, as it were, in order to get a knowledge of what happened between us and these people from the time of our conquest of Malacca onwards. We shall now describe what has occurred lately and what are the present conditions between us and them.

These Manicabers then, an idle, sluggish, lazy, faithless and perfidious race, have enjoyed the above mentioned peace with us since 1646 and to all appearance have prospered and multiplied and, having therefore waxed proud and arrogant, have united with the people of Songhoedjongh, subject to Johore, their nearest neighbours and have chosen a king for themselves from among the Manicaber princes of Sumatra. He declares himself a cousin of

the king of Johore, but is, in fact, a fugitive Mohammedan priest, who, according to rumour, was driven out, on account of his turbulence, by his own people in Sumatra and by Atchin, where he tried to secure support and adherents.

This man came to Nanningh and Rombouw by the river Pannagie with a single ship and without ceremony accompanied by only a few followers. (112) When raised to the rank of king, he succeeded in inducing his newly acquired subjects to make war on Malacca, but to keep their intention secret until their preparations were complete, in order to attack us entirely at unawares and unexpectedly.

To this end he wrote us a hypocritical letter, in which he gave himself a number of bombastic, high titles and honours, containing false complaints that his people were interfered with by our patrols in the Straits, when bringing their vessels to Malacca, in defiance of the old contracts; demanding that henceforth these contracts should be better observed. Notifying also that he was now established in Nanningh and Rombouw and intended as a religious man to journey to Mecca.

We received this letter on the 11th March 1677, sent by him with seven persons, whom we caused to appear before us in the Council and in whose presence we had the letter read and afterwards translated. We had at that time no knowledge of his having been chosen king by the Manicabers and judged by the tenour of the letter that it had been written to the order of a presumptuous, insolent madman. Moreover, because the letter had no proper seal in the Malay or Manicaber manner and the black seal that was on it was very slovenly and ugly, we sent it back on the 16th March unanswered with the bearers, who had nothing to propose beyond the contents of the letter.

They were scarcely gone before we heard a rumour of the Manicaber expedition to Malacca with an army of 3770 men under (113) the command of this king, of whom it was reported that he was able to do great miracles; such as e.g. that he could poison the wind and make it blow wherever he willed in order to do men to death, bewitch cannon and firearms so that they could not be fired, harden his warriors to such a degree that they could not be wounded, much less killed by our troops, that he himself could change his shape three times a day and even make himself invisible, and other absurdities of the same sort. This, to some extent, intimidated the superstitious black Roman Catholics and other silly, credulous people. In consequence of these rumours, which daily increased, we began to make some defences in the northern suburb, which lay completely open, and sent a letter to the people of Nanningh running as follows:

Balthasar Bort, Councillor Extraordinary of India, Governor and Director of the town and fort of Malacca together with the  
1927] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Council there to Radja Mera and all the elders in Nanningh and also of the villages under their jurisdiction gives friendly greeting with good wishes for the prosperity of all.

Some days ago there came to us from Rombouw a letter written, as was affirmed in the opening words, by a Manicaber kinglet. On the receipt of this letter we showed some respect and honour both to it and to those who brought it, but, when the same letter was brought before us, opened and read, we detected at once from the high and exalted title the writer gave himself, as also from the mean, slovenly, (114) contemptible seal affixed thereto, that the sender of said letter must be considered a presumptuous, insolent madman, of whom we had never heard. In this persuasion we were afterwards further strengthened, when we learnt that he was a fugitive and runaway from the Manicaber country in Sumatra, in fact an impostor. We therefore deemed it unnecessary to answer the letter. We made the bearers acquainted with that decision and allowed them to depart therewith unmolested. We are sending said letter in its original form to your Honours herewith in order that your Honours may be able yourselves to judge of it and summon your Honours to come speedily hither in such numbers as your Honours may yourselves decide upon, so as to confer with us on certain matters touching the well being both of ourselves and of you. We are willing to suffer Radja Mera, on account of his great age, to be excused. Let us have the aforesaid letter back, that we may be able to send it in due time to the rightful Manicaber king. Your Honours may perchance have a letter from him some day to warn you to give neither heed nor hearing to this impostor, as we also hereby earnestly enjoin upon you.

Malacca 24th March 1677.

The bearers of this letter were some (M. S. *een*, probably for *eenige*) of our Malay inhabitants and three of the men from Nanning, who had shortly before come down with their betel leaf and had stayed behind, through the majority had already taken flight. On their voyage with the letter up the Malacca river, they were driven back by some Manicabers and were not suffered to carry it to Nanningh. They therefore returned without having accomplished their task (115) and without the three men of Nanning, who had separated themselves betimes from the others. It was, however a matter of much concern to us that the letter should be delivered, in order that we might know, from the receiving or failing to receive an answer thereto, the certainty or otherwise of war, and whether our vassals, the people of Nanning, had combined with the other Manicabers or not. We therefore induced the Moor, Ossenina Maharadja, who had shortly before come to us here with a letter and present from the king of

Johore, to go up the river to Nanning with the letter. He returned after only two days' absence on the 27th March, and reported that on his voyage he had met enemy troops at various places along the river, but that they allowed him to pass out of respect to the king of Johore, so that he had got to Nanning to Radja Mera. He, however would not accept our letter except in the presence of the elected king, whom they call Radja Ebrahim.

This man listened to the reading of the letter and then publicly declared his intention of beginning and carrying out the resolution taken of making war on Malacca and indeed of conquering the town and fort within a few days. He persisted in this, although this Ossenina Maradja counselled him against it and told him of the defences we had already made and of the further works in which we were daily engaged, assuring him that he would not succeed in winning either the town or the fort even if he besieged it for several years, and that all he would accomplish would be to make a number of poor people still poorer by burning and destroying their houses and gardens outside the town; (116) moreover that the Dutch had anticipated him in this by having themselves already done it in the case of such as were in the way of an uninterrupted outlook, declaring that he had seen this with his own eyes.

When the Moor returned to us with these unexpected tidings and bringing in writing no answer at all to our letter, but, by word of mouth the assurance that the enemy in great numbers was advancing under various commanders, we had war proclaimed against them and forbade the sending of any supplies to them and all correspondence with them on pain of death. We busied ourselves very zealously with the completion of the works already begun and the addition of others necessary to the protection of the northern suburb. To hasten progress, we pressed into the service all the slaves of the Company's servants and of the inhabitants; so much the more since the dwellers in said suburb seemed to regard it as already lost and came every day into the fort in flight with their wives, children and property and especially, because the retention of the same was of great importance by reason of its being so closely built over with houses, both of brick and of wood, also because of the compounds and gardens planted with many fruit trees and sown with vegetables, where the enemy would have found good lodging and food and would have had the opportunity to distress the fort, being so near to it. We therefore had the chief approaches strengthened with all speed by the works before specified and provided them well with cannon for better resistance to assaults from the enemy. To prevent his breaking in, we closed the principal streets with barricades and planted guns there. Moreover, when we saw the enemy approaching, at about two musket shots (117) outside the northern suburb, we hastily threw

up a breastwork from the seashore up to the garden of the farmer, Roelof Gerritsz., the proprietor being away from home and already deserted by his wife (*die van hujs en bij sijn vrouw al verlaten was*), using the fired brick which lay there ready to hand. We also posted a few soldiers in the brick house of the same garden to await the first attack. This took place that same night, the enemy being at first stayed and held there. They had advanced along the seashore and the river on the northern side having mostly broken through the jungle. They had made themselves masters of Battantiga lying a cannon shot away from the fort on the seashore and inhabited by 70 families, mostly Malays, who got a living by planting rice fields. This happened because the people there, although we had shortly before provided them with firearms and ammunition, did not defend themselves, but ran away, immediately on the approach of the enemy; some, about 40 in number, taking refuge with the enemy, the rest fleeing with wives and children in their boats to the fishers' island, whence they afterwards came to us, bringing with them only half of our firearms.

The enemy, having met the first resistance from us to his advance at the aforesaid breastwork, united his forces there and made various attacks in the attempt to overpower it, but every time, as need arose, we sent the requisite help in soldiers from the garrison and inhabitants of the northern (118) suburb, and the enemy was always obliged to retreat, abandoning some of his men killed by the fire of our troops, whose heads were exposed on posts in the sight of the enemy.

Wherefore, at long last, they came no more to make attempts on this outer post of ours, much less to approach the northern suburb by other roads, which they assuredly sent spies to examine, but found, contrary to expectation, in such a state of defence that no attack was made there on by them. In consequence, in the month of June, they retired entirely and retreated to their robbers' den by the way they came, after they had first set an ambush in the jungle to lure us into the same by their vanguard. Our troops, however, especially the 14 well equipped horsemen, easily drove them away, but carefully avoided the ambush, since the enemy had much experience of the jungle and our troops had not, wherefore it was inexpedient to go and fight them there.

In consequence the enemy depopulated and laid waste the jungle and the low lands, gardens and orchards bordering it, and seized, slaughtered and carried off the cows and buffaloes running loose in the woods. They ran away when they saw that there was nothing more at their mercy and we had forced them by firing on them from a Moorish ship to abandon Battantiga, where they had tried to establish themselves.

We were unable to prevent this devastation, either in the beginning or later, on account of the weakness of our garrison (119) and the small number of men able to bear arms among our inhabitants, for they consisted merely of:

253 soldiers, including officers  
181 all other Company's servants

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434 men  
24 Dutch burghers  
250 Black Roman Catholics  
40 Chinese  
30 Moors  
70 Malays

---

848 men, besides in addition, 36 Bugis also living under our jurisdiction.

With this force we could not venture to take much risk, lest we should endanger the main thing, viz. the custody of both the northern and southern suburbs and, still more, the fort.

We got also, very timely, our force blockading Pera, consisting of a frigate, *T Wapen van Malacca*, and two sloops, all three together manned by not more than 60 men, whom we had sent for betimes, because we had not here to our hand even one Company's ship or sloop.

As soon as we were in a good state of defence and became aware that the enemy had not the courage to attack the northern suburb (which was the main objective as he did not show himself much round the southern suburb, although it was weaker), we sent said ships back at once, making shift with two Moorish ships and two sloops belonging to burghers, which lay there at our service, if need arose.

We had, thank God, no killed during this invasion (120) of the enemy and in the fighting with him, and only three wounded, in particular Lieut. Jan Rosdom who was mounted on a horse which was pierced in the throat by a pike and fell with its rider, whereupon one of the Manicaber leaders thought to dispatch him, but it was, contrariwise, his own fate to be killed, for Rosdom got him down and kept him down until help came and the Manicaber leader was killed in all his fine habiliments (*seer wel gehabitueert*). His head was stuck up on a post. The other two wounded men were a horse soldier and a burgher, but the Bugis, in one fight, lost two of their number and the Malays one. The Bugis brought in their dead, but the body of the Malay was secured by the enemy and cruelly mishandled. No doubt they treated in the same way two of our sailors of the grass prao, who, seven in number, had gone up the river, according to the daily custom, to cut grass for

the buffaloes working at the powdermill, they also being employed there. When sitting on the river bank having a meal, they were suddenly attacked by the Manicabers; five of them escaped from the cruel hands of the enemy by taking to the river, but the others remained behind.

The number of the enemy dead and wounded was undoubtedly not small, but we cannot record with any certainty how many there were, as it has (121) not yet come to our knowledge.

This then is the result of the war treacherously made on us by these Manicabers, without the least cause, at a time when we were at peace with them.

At the beginning, in order to cut off all supplies from the enemy, we closed their river Pannagie, which is about four miles northwards from here, with palisades at a point two miles up and kept a garrison there and took good care that nothing was taken to them along the Malacca river. These two are the only ways they could use conveniently to provide themselves with necessaries. They should be convenient also some day for an attack by our people on them in their own villages, and, if possible, their complete extermination. This must assuredly be done some time (unless we are willing to be plagued in this way from time to time by the outrages, robberies and brigandage which they have in the past inflicted on our people and we have had to endure with no small loss), so that we may be able to live here in quiet and to keep our good inhabitants from harm. Otherwise they will probably take a dislike to the place and move away; moreover other people would not be attracted to come here to live, although this country must have a larger population, especially of industrious (122) Chinese, so that the necessary cultivation of the soil may be continued and other traffic and trade may be carried on, for the black Christians are all very inert, too idle and lazy to have any inclination thereto.

Of all this, or most of it, we have advised their Honours in Batavia on May 30 last by the fly boat *Yselsteyn* arrived here from Bengal, intending to proceed forthwith to Batavia and have begged for as speedy a reinforcement as possible of 150 soldiers, since the enemy had not then departed and we did not know when he would desist from his evil designs and abandon this town, and, in order to preserve it and keep it safe, we must rely mainly on our military garrison; especially if Johor also came against us, whereof there was a rumour that the Laxamana with 30 vessels, each manned by 100 troops, was coming hither. Their Honours wrote that the expedition to the enemy's own territory must be postponed until their Honours should be able to send us 600 soldiers, so that nothing should be begun the success of which was doubtful.



This reinforcement of 150 soldiers we received on July 21 by the fly boat *Soesdijk* and it greatly relieved our anxiety. The dispatch of the further military force was at first to some extent promised, but in their Honours' later letters they announced that we must not expect it, since they could not spare so many soldiers for dispatch hither, (123) but that they still hoped that some day, at a more convenient season, it might be done; otherwise the enemy will grow more enterprising and bolder in their daily deeds of robbery and pillage, for the ordinary method of having the plain and jungle traversed by our horse and foot does not succeed in preventing them, not even if we kept a troop for a considerable time in the jungle.

This was apparent in 1675 when we issued an order to the officers of said troop to the following purport:

Order for Lieut. Hendrik Temmer together with Sergeant Hendrik Kenneke and the captain of the burgher force Jacob Son-neman advancing with a troop up the Malacca river to the jungle to catch the kidnappers who maintain themselves there.

Malacca has been plagued constantly, even when the Portuguese owned it, by the kidnappers who are certainly Malays, though they bear the name of Manicabers and Saletters. These men do not scruple to attack unawares and carry off both free men and slaves and then sell them elsewhere; if they cannot secure them alive, they kill them. These rascals have sometimes been hindered to some extent by the ordinary means used up to the present of having the jungle watched by our men, viz. two soldiers of the guard at Boucquet China and six blacks from the burgher guard, (124) and also of keeping eight men of the most trustworthy black inhabitants constantly armed with muskets and causing them to traverse the jungle every week. This has been so especially when now and then one or another of their people has been captured by our men and hanged without mercy, his carcase being exposed as carrion for the birds. Notwithstanding this, after remaining for a time in hiding, they appear once more without our soldiers, black inhabitants or even our Malays, who are over and over again sent out against them, being able to catch them, because they have many hiding places in the jungle. Wherefore it comes to pass that they suddenly fall upon our inhabitants and their slaves, who have their gardens along the river bank and cut wood in the jungle and fish on the seashore, instantly bind and carry them off, as has happened again recently.

It also happens that the men of Nanningh and Rombouw, who are Manicabers inhabiting the jungle and fields among the hills about six miles behind Malacca, have warned us in letters that one Asy Aboul Jabaâr has assembled many of these rogues for the purpose, not only of kidnapping men from round about this place, but also of doing us all possible damage, asserting that

they have been provoked thereto because one of their friends has been found dead not far from here. This was a (125) haji, who ran amock or played the raving madman, trying to kill everyone he could get hold of; wherefor he was killed in the rage of those whom he himself meant to kill.

These people of Nanningh and Rombouw, the former being Manicabers subject to Malacca and the latter to Johor, have been always suspected of being accessory to this kidnapping and sharing the guilt thereof. There are assuredly grounds for this belief, for they receive the kidnapped men, buy them for a small sum and then sell them again for higher prices, or, if we write to them on the subject, they refuse to restore the men except for a large sum, disguising this base profit under the pretext that they have sought out the thieves (*dat sij de dieven opgesoght*) and paid them that amount for the men, moreover that they are unable to withstand these villains, the men of Nanningh shifting the blame on those of Rombouw and these on the men of Nanningh. However we believe that they are in collusion and that we must put little trust in either; still before as yet undertaking anything against them, except keeping a close and careful watch on their doings and actions, we intend only to drive these kidnappers away or to destroy them.

To this end we have decided to maintain in the jungle for a whole month a troop consisting of 12 of the best soldiers of our garrison, 14 (126) of the black inhabitants, 8 Malays together with one surgeon, a baggage master, a carpenter and 14 slaves, 53 men, in the hope that, when these kidnappers learn that we are so much in earnest in our action against them, they will abandon the jungle of their own accord, or, even if they remain there still, that it will be possible for this troop under your careful leadership to find, discover and destroy them. Wherefore you must have the jungle traversed both by day and night, whenever the weather is suitable, in order to spy out the present whereabouts of these rascals, with this object sending the Malays in advance, as the ways are best known to them and they have a better knowledge than our people of how to penetrate the thick jungle, so as in their turn to surprise these robbers, provided that the necessary help and support are given them when it may be wanted.

However, in case these villains should be gathered together elsewhere in such strength that you would be obliged to approach them in full force, it would perhaps be necessary to divide the troops into four sections so as to be able to march in good order, that is: the Malays, as stated, as vanguard a short distance in advance, then the other three sections following closely on each other, dividing the soldiers and black inhabitants in such manner as, from the conditions of way and place, you may deem advisable

and as you shall decide with the others, faithfully supporting each other when need arises so as to destroy the aforesaid (127) kidnappers. There is no need for you to bring back any prisoners, cut off their heads on the spot where you find them and hang the bodies by the legs to the trees to instil fear into any of their accomplices who may happen to behold the sight. All the heads cut off you may send to us from time to time to be exposed. Ten re<sup>s</sup>. for each head shall be distributed as a present for the benefit of the members of the troop. This we hope will encourage them to search out these rascals unweariedly and get their heads.

But, since it will not be possible for this troop to be on the move all the time, it will be necessary for you to choose some place as headquarters or rendezvous in which to establish yourself and at times to remain together and reassemble in after being separated and scattered. For this purpose we think the place called Agua de Loupa situated about four miles up the river, where there is a narrow tongue of land stretching into the middle of the river, would be not inconvenient; however, if you can find a better, you may choose it as permanent headquarters where the provisions, ammunition, utensils, etc., and the rest of the baggage must be collected and kept. You will, as a rule, leave the 14 slaves, who accompany you in the light praos in which you travel, on the boats (128) with a good guard and with them the baggage master Jeronimus Wilhelmus, and the carpenter, so that you can employ them as opportunity serves. You can see of what the said provisions, ammunitions of war, tools and other baggage consist from the list thereof made and delivered to you. The said baggage master shall have the oversight and render an account of the same. Take heed to do everything to the end that nothing is neglected, wasted or lost and that the residue is brought back here on your return.

The Lieut. Hendrick Temmer shall first, as its chief, conduct the troop up the river and bring it to the place which you with the others shall judge suitable and convenient as headquarters, and, when you have established the necessary order in everything there, you shall forthwith return to us to make a report, so that, should anything be lacking, we may furnish the same. In the absence of the lieutenant, the sergeant, Hendricq Kenneke shall be in command of our soldiers and the captain of the burgher force, Jacob Sonneman, of the black inhabitants and the Malays together with the hired slaves; but, if said Sonneman also on occasion has leave to come away, aforesaid sergeant shall have command over the whole troop during his absence.

In case you deem it necessary to erect something on the place chosen for a fixed rendezvous (129) to secure and protect it both from wild beasts and the wicked Manicabers, so as not to be surprised by them and taken at unawares, whether it be by an

earthen wall or pagar all round the camp of the troop or by blocking the approaches to it with felled trees and brushwood, you may do it in the most convenient way, provided that not much time is spent on it, but that the business is speedily disposed of.

The enforcement of ordinary military usage in establishing and keeping a good watch and in first letting the troops, when tired with marching, have rest and refreshment before being led against the Manicabers to attack them, we deem it unnecessary to recommend to you in detail, since you have sufficient experience of other points connected therewith, and also know the stratagems and wiles of these rascals, which they use to entrap our men, digging pits, laying and setting caltrops and gins and then enticing you thither. You must give careful heed and must keep watch to discover these tricks in time, when they employ one or other of which you have no experience.

(130) You are also well aware that your bounden duty demands in the highest degree that you take good care and use all circumspection, so that our inhabitants and their slaves who are in the gardens and elsewhere in the jungle do not suffer the least trouble or harm from this troop.

You must also leave unmolested all vessels belonging to our inhabitants passing daily up and down the river and all small praos of the men of Nanning and of the Manicabers, provided that, if, on going on board, you find them furnished with more than the usual arms, from which you might judge that it was not advisable to allow them to pass in safety, you shall send such vessels and praos, men and all, to us for examination and to be dealt with according to the result thereof.

You may inflict ordinary corporal punishment on our people when they deserve it, but all illdoers who merit more severe punishment you shall send hither.

This troop can be adequately supported for a full month on the provisions given, and is to remain in the jungle for that length of time, unless we give other orders later on, (131) in the hope that during that time the jungle and paths round about may by your skill and bravery be cleared of these rogues and robbers. Whereto may the Almighty be pleased to lend His aid and succour; we must pray to Him for this and also for His further blessing for the safe keeping, preservation and protection of yourself and of the people entrusted to you.

Malacca, the 25. March 1675, subscribed by your good friends and signed Balthasar Bort, Adriaen Lucasz, Jan van Es, Cornelis Verburgh, Pieter Noortman, Jan Bal and Abraham Burgers.

It should be possible to lead the aforesaid military force, after it has accomplished its task, to Nanning and Rombouw and thereafter to Queda to be used there, since the king of that place

for a long time past has richly deserved by his murders of our people and the withholding of a considerable sum of money to be forced by arms to give satisfaction. It has been impossible up to the present to move him thereto by gentle means, as we have told their honours aforesaid.

(132) No other religious service than of our reformed church may be celebrated publicly with concourse and assembling together of people within the jurisdiction of Malacca. The Romish community was formerly allowed this liberty by connivance, but in 1645 and 1646, when news reached this place of the treachery committed by them in Brazil, this privilege was wholly taken from them by order of their Honours, the High Government of India in Batavia given in two of their letters, dated 6. December 1645 and 22. May 1646 to Heer de Vlammigh van Outshoorn, an extract from which runs as follows:

First from the letter of Dec. 6.

It is commendable and a very good thing that the increase in numbers of the clergy and Roman Catholic priests has been resolutely checked, and that some have been ordered to retire to Macassar and elsewhere. These politic maxims must be enforced more and more, in order to clear the territory of Malacca of this mischievous crew, to the end that the Lusitanian and other inhabitants, without prejudice to our State, may remain exempt from plottings and should hereafter yield loyal obedience in accordance with the [oath] they have taken. But, since advocates of the Roman faith persist day after day in their deceitful and perfidious practices for the (133) rupture thereof, Governor van Vliet is on this point entirely in the right in apprehending, after a re-examination of the treaty, made between their king and our sovereign, we find that the 26th article quite clearly enjoins that the subjects (Nota) are, on land, to have simply freedom of conscience, in their private houses, and on their ships only the free exercise of their religion. We hear that their adherents are constantly striving to secure a wide extension of this to their advantage, based on the contents of this clause on the strength of the agreement made at Goa.

This is entirely reprehensible and, in fact, intolerable since, because the clergy in the Ceylon district have, by special contract only, had religious freedom in public granted to them, all deductions from this in favour of extension, no matter how subtle they may appear, must be rejected without hesitation and those who argue to the contrary must be repulsed in such a way that they lose all desire for further proposals.

Your regulation as to the desired elucidation shall expressly order that henceforth, without the least addition (*advoy*) of excepting clauses, the tenour of the treaty made shall be precisely followed, that is, no public preaching in the town is permitted to the

subjects of Malacca on severe penalties, but freedom of conscience shall be allowed only in private and without ministers and (134) assembling together. On the other hand on board ship on the appearance (*parese*) of any priest the practice is permitted, but the priests must not be allowed to remain *in loco* longer than till the departure of the trading vessel in which they came. Care must be taken promptly to take precautions against any serious infractions and the officer must punish in exemplary fashion, by banishment or otherwise, as occasion may demand, with condign penalties the detected (*opgevorste*) disturbers of the subject population, in conformity with the proclamation issued or any future edict, so as to prevent the rooting of trouble in the hearts of men and even the smallest harm to the government of the state, which must be averted in every way.

From the letter of the 22nd of May.

And, since the Seventeen in their last missive recommend us to be very much on our guard against the Portuguese, who, though pretending to be our friends, are really enemies of the Company's State, to hold no communication with them, to trust no one and no longer to give passage to returning or coasting ships, therefore we have determined again to charge your Honour promptly to carry out our order already given concerning this matter *per* the fly boat *H. Maeslant* and further by these presents (135) to order Malacca to be cleared of all the half breeds and other Portuguese adherents, who refuse to reside there without the right to practise the Romish faith, and to allow each one to depart whither he pleases, so as to prevent all conceivable and inconceivable misdoings by that canaille, whereto the priests will not neglect constantly to play their peculiar and appointed part. This your Honour must not permit any longer, you must make them depart by the vessels in which they come, as we have here roundly declared our intention in this matter to the Jesuit, Pedro Francisco. We have moreover, at his request, given him a note (*apostile*) to that effect and he is now going thither on *De Vos* to carry out his commission and then to sail to Goa with their ships. Your Honour has done very ill and contrary to orders in sending the three Jesuits hither *per De Vos*, you ought to have kept them till the arrival of their ships and made them depart with these, since they are more mischievous here than in Malacca. Two have gone to Macassar and the Frenchman remains here in order to go to Goa.

The plague is not so harmful as these wolves in their sheep's clothing.

(136) On which injunctions, orders *per* governo and commands, on 12. June 1646, the practice of the Romish faith was interdicted for the first time by the publication and posting of a

proclamation, and further such order was established, as is seen in the said proclamation, which runs as follows:

Arnold de Vlamingh van Outshoorn, President of the town and fort of Malacca with its dependencies, etc. Whereas we find that the Portuguese priests, contrary to article 26 of the deed of agreement made by their High Mightinesses, the States General and the great and mighty king of Portugal, Don Joan IV, persist in daily preaching in public, in celebrating mass and in practising their superstitions as publicly as they would be able or allowed to do in their own lands. Therefore divers priests who travel from place to place frequently come here to establish themselves, and remain to encourage the inhabitants in their blind zeal. There have even been various cases in which aforesaid Romish priests have come to dwell here as nothing but pests to our State, often dissuading the community from its bounden duty towards its magistrates. They behave as enemies and (137) traitors causing nothing but annoyance and scandal to those of the true, reformed religion.

In order to prevent these public or secret celebrations of their religion, as also the sojourn here of the Portuguese clergy, and wishing to provide against the mischiefs that might arise therefrom, therefore we with the advice of our Council have ordered and decreed, and we do by these presents order and decree, that from now onwards those of the clergy coming here from other places may not remain here, much less perform any service or exercise of their religion on shore, but shall be obliged to depart by the ships on which they arrived here.

Moreover that the mass priests, monks, priests and clerks or all others of whatever order they may be, who are now living here, are hereby expressly charged to depart from the territory of Malacca, and, within one month, come here, unless they will lay aside their priestly habit, and clothe themselves like all other citizens, and no longer celebrate the very smallest public practice of their religion with the assembling of people together, all on pain of banishment from our government and such further arbitrary punishment as may be found suited to the exigencies of the case.

(138) Further, the better to prevent future public celebrations by those of the Romish religion, we charge those who possess buildings, where hitherto said religious practices have been celebrated, forthwith to pull them down or to alter them and make them into dwelling houses, and henceforth to abstain from all assembling together for the practice of their religion or that such persons as allow their houses to be used thereto, as also those who shall be found in said houses, shall be liable to above mentioned penalty.

That this our order be duly observed and obeyed, we charge and command our fiscal to publish and affix this proclamation

everywhere in divers languages and to have it published and affixed; to proceed against those who contravene it without any deceit or delay (*verdraght*), since we find this fitting for the profit of our State.

Thus published in the town and fort of Malacca, this 12th June 1646, signed Arnoldus de Vlamingh van Outshoorn.

(139) However the content of this proclamation was frequently transgressed by the Romish clergy and their adherents here in spite of their being our inhabitants and subjects, and they persisted therein, notwithstanding the infliction on them of the penalties decreed in the aforesaid proclamation. We in fact discovered that the priests continued to persuade our Romish inhabitants to bequeath their property or part of it by testamentary or other disposition to the churches and monasteries, which they have in Goa, their chief place in India, and elsewhere, and also to collect alms.

In order to provide against and remedy these and other abuses, detrimental to our good political rule, we, shortly after the beginning of our governorship, on the 15th January 1666, issued, published and affixed a fuller proclamation, as may be seen from the copy which follows:

Balthasar Bort, President, Commander of the town and fort of Malacca with its dependencies, on behalf of the Honourable Joan Maetsuycker, Governor General, and their Honours, the Council of India of the Dutch possessions in the East, to all, who shall see these presents or hear them read, greeting, to wit:

Whereas it is plain to us that our Roman Catholic inhabitants are not content (140) with freedom of conscience and the practice of their religion in their dwelling houses, which has up to the present been permitted them without hindrance, and, by reason of the evil instructions and influence (*impressien*) of the Portuguese priests living here, and especially at the instigation of one Don Fernandus Manuel, who came here in March of last year from Maccauw and has remained here ever since as an arrogant and defiant asserter of said Romish religion although now under orders to depart, have gone so far as, quite recently, to dare to erect, on their own authority, attap houses, one within this northern suburb beside the road to the bank shall and the other at Bongerij tricked out with pictures and other superstitious ornaments in form of a popish church, and in these said Portuguese priests have during the holy days just past not only preached but celebrated the idolatrous mass and their Romish worship publicly and without scruple before a great concourse of people.

Aforesaid Don Fernandus Manuel actually went so far as to offer active resistance to the officers of justice who, in accordance with the duty of their office, (141) disturbed the assembly, and



has used and is still constantly using such seditious language as tends to no other object than the traducing of our government here and the dissuasion of our good inhabitants from the just obedience which they are bound to show us, in every respect contrary to the tenour of all political ordinances, and especially of the proclamation issued here on June 12. 1646 against the public celebration of the Romish worship, and, since the celebration of said worship and all that appertains thereto can, as being very superstitious, for no conceivable reason be allowed without diminution of God's honour and reproach to our Christian religion here, but on the contrary, following the good example of various reformed churches in Europe as well as here in these countries both in Batavia and elsewhere, the public and secret propagation of this doctrine must be, not only promptly checked, but suitable measures must also be adopted to cut off the Portuguese ministers, who are usually very poor, from the means thereto henceforth, and to cure them of the desire to come and make their home so eagerly in future within the borders of our republic.

Moreover those who still secretly (142) remain here must, in accordance with the salutary order of our superiors, be removed with all speed from our midst, so as to prevent all offence and to hinder them betimes from their crafty wiles, getting our inhabitants entirely devoted to them, and in this way converting them from dutiful into rebellious and impoverished subjects, for they have great skill in charming the money out of the purses of these people under the pretext and with a fair but false show of religion. Thus they enrich themselves to the particular damage and disadvantage of our state, since they thereby render our inhabitants incapable of contributing anything to the necessities of the common cause, when occasion demands, for the defence of this town and fort against all open and secret foes, whereto they are in duty and indeed by solemn oath bound to our state in accordance with all natural and civil laws for the protection of their own cause, the maintenance of wife and children together with possessions and goods.

Said Don Fennandus Manuel and the Romish priests seek to hoodwink them into believing the contrary to this, because forsooth (143) they are not of our religion, using thereto these and various other baseless arguments. Therefore we, for the prevention of all inconveniences that might result therefrom and for the maintenance of our rule and of the reformed Christian religion and from special regard for the common weal, with due care, pursuant to our Christian duty, wishing herein to provide, after ripe deliberation, with the concurrence of our Council, have ordained and decreed and do hereby ordain and decree:

Firstly, that none of the Portuguese priesthood from Goa, Maccauw or anywhere passing here, whether Jesuits, priests,

curates, monks, clerks or other professed clerical persons, of whatever order or condition they may be, shall be suffered to come ashore within our jurisdiction except with our express permit and special knowledge, much less, whether in ecclesiastical or civilian garb, settle here or stay in secret. They must, on the contrary, depart with the same ships they arrived in, on pain of a fine of 200 re<sup>s</sup>. Our inhabitants who are found to have brought ashore or lodged and entertained (*defroyeert*) the aforesaid priestly persons in their houses contrary to this (144) our order shall be liable to the same fine.

Also during their stay here in the roadstead they shall not be allowed to preach on shore, or celebrate mass or practise any other Romish superstition accompanied by the assembling of people together either in secret or openly, no matter how small the assembly may be. They must behave themselves quietly and peaceably in all modesty under the permit to land when obtained, similarly on pain of a fine of 200 re<sup>s</sup>. inflicted on everyone of our inhabitants for each occasion on which he has attended such a gathering, and of confiscation, in addition, of such houses and their lands where said conventicles or assemblies have been held.

Also they shall not be allowed to practise their said religion on board their several ships so long as they lie in the roads except solely for their own people of the ship's crew, and shall not entice thereto any of our inhabitants or suffer them to come on their ships with that purpose, on pain of the forfeiture of a similar fine of 200 re<sup>s</sup>. by the priests and of 25 re<sup>s</sup>. by our inhabitants.

(145) The members of aforesaid priesthood must above all take careful heed that no one either old or young here on shore or on board their ships comes to be baptized or joined in marriage, and in especial they must not rebaptize or remarry those who have already received the sacrament of baptism from our reformed ministers or have been married by them or by marriage commissioners, on pain of unmerciful corporal punishment in addition to confiscation of all their goods. This punishment shall be inflicted without connivance and enforced against all our subjects who have any part in transgressing this important point in any way. Moreover all marriages celebrated by the popish priesthood shall be deemed null and void and, in consequence, all such persons shall be deprived of the rights accorded to married people on the strength of the holy marriage tie.

Similarly also none of said priestly persons shall attempt to make any collection or ingathering here of money or goods or directly or indirectly to have one (146) made by his servants or anyone else for masses for the dead, popish churches, monasteries, colleges, convents or whatever else they may be called so as to rob our inhabitants by such sinister tricks of their property at the risk of punishment at discretion.

Also said inhabitants of ours in general and particular are by these presents expressly forbidden to hand over or to have handed over on their behalf by other persons any alms for said persons, no matter how small in amount, or to dispose of their possessions by will or in any other way to any of the said alleged members of the priesthood or for the benefit of the churches, colleges, convents, monasteries, etc. specified above or to transfer them from here to any Portuguese possessions and so to deprive their lawful ascendants or descendants thereof in that or some other improper manner on pain of confiscation of all possessions so disposed of or transferred and of a money fine of 100 re<sup>a</sup>. in addition. This and the fine before appointed to be applied one third for the informer, one third for the benefit of the poor of our Christian (147) reformed churches and the remaining third for the Company's officials.

And to the end that we may be freed once for all from many vexations of daily occurrence by reason of the above mentioned Romish superstitions still grossly in vogue here, all such priests as continue to live surreptitiously in this republic, of whatever order or condition they may be, are, without exception, expressly warned, within a week from the publication of these presents, to discover themselves to us or else to depart from this territory and out of the jurisdiction thereof and never again to show themselves here or, if they fail to do this, and so are found here still after the lapse of the aforesaid appointed week, they shall be punished as disturbers and troublers of the common peace.

In order then that none may pretend ignorance hereof and that all the aforesaid points may the better be observed and maintained without infringement in their full force and according to their strict meaning, we charge and command our fiscal to have this proclamation published also in Portuguese and to have it posted up in the proper places (148) and also to proceed against the transgressors thereof, without respect of persons or any connivance whatever, in the most severe manner as an example to others, since we deem such action needful for the honour of God, the upholding of the true reformed Christian religion, the expulsion of the harmful Romish doctrine and especially the welfare of our state.

Thus done and decreed in the Council of Malacca this 15th Jan. 1666 and published and posted the 29th following of same.

Some improvement followed on this further proclamation, not however to the extent of our being able wholly to purge the territory of Malacca of Romish priests; they did not show themselves here openly, but remained in hiding; some even, in civilian garb, serving their religion and their ecclesiastical ceremonial,

especially mass, in remote places both in the jungle and elsewhere. This they still persist in, whenever they can discover a convenient time and occasion therefor.

More particularly these Romish subjects of ours contrive always to maintain here in secret a priestling to minister to them in sickness and death, for they imagine that, if they are obliged to do without a priest at such times, they are lost and will not go to heaven.

(149) This priestling has no difficulty in getting his maintenance from the people, and other priests, who come hither from elsewhere, both in Portuguese and Mohammedan ships, perceiving this, endeavour also to get a share by hiding at the time of the departure of the ships and remaining here, for they like to be where there is something to eat. This causes ill feeling among them, for it actually happened once that some of their faith reported to me that four of their priests were living here in secret, and, since it was too heavy a burden to support them all, they themselves asked that three might be sent away and that only one might be retained by them, but, in accordance with the order, all four had to depart.

However we are never free from these troublesome persons, who, if caught, must be kept in custody and sent away at the first opportunity that occurs. Further they and their adherents must be punished according to the tenour of the proclamations, as I trust your Honour will do so long as no other order is received, for their Romish priests aim at impoverishing the black community adhering to their religion. These people are for the most part, so poor that some of them are supported by our church funds; which fact induced some of them, after the (150) publication of the aforesaid most recent proclamation, to bequeath money in their wills to our church.

The prohibition of the exercise of the Romish religion has notably reduced the population of this town, by reason of the departure of many Portuguese families and their dependents to other places. They have taken with them a good number of black fishermen and would have carried off the rest, if they had not been prevented.

Our ecclesiastical or church affairs here are at present served by two reverend preachers, by name Domine Hubertus Leijdecker of Zirick Zee and Bernardus Coopagroen of Amsterdam, both excellent and learned men of good life and peaceful conversation. The former has been here ever since the year 1672, the other arrived only last year.

They have associated with them, as elders, M. Govert du Lavay, Captain, and Jan Meeck, governor of the hospital; and, as deacons, Sr. Pieter van Halsdingen, junior merchant, Leendert

Kars, sergeant, and Hendrick Moleman, burgher, constituting a (151) regular Church Council. These officers are usually changed every year or two, on the nomination of the Church Council from the most estimable of the Company's servants of high rank and of the chief burghers after the Governor has been communicated with and his approval has been obtained. The second in command here must not serve as elder, this having been forbidden by their honours many years ago, when disputes arose here between the preachers.

The members of the church are at the present time 150 in number. The deacons provide for and maintain also the orphanage, built here in my time, situated on a convenient spot within the fort in a cultivated garden.

There are here also two churchwardens, who are chosen by the Governor and Council. They receive the fees for burials and use them for the necessary repairs of the churches. To increase their income and to meet the charges they have to bear, the graves were put up for sale in 1669, at a maximum of (*de meeste op*) 100 re<sup>s</sup>. and a minimum of (*ende minste*) 25 re<sup>s</sup>. This was approved by their Honours in Batavia, and at the same time they agreed that the transfer papers and deeds should be granted by the Governor, but up to the present no graves have been sold.

There are two churches here, namely one, St. Paul's, a church with a tower on high ground on the top of the hill, which the town possessed in the time of the Portuguese and has retained, and another, down below at the foot of the hill, in the south part of this fort. It was formerly a dwelling house and was turned into a church in my time and called the New Church. A sermon is preached there only once in the week, but in St. Paul's twice every Sunday and in the small outer fort Delft once in the early morning. On Sundays in the lower church also service is held by a visitor of the sick called Steven Ferdinandus van Tavilien in Portuguese and a sermon is read and the psalms of David, some of which have been translated into said language, are sung. This service is attended by the natives of our religion, mostly half castes and black women married to Dutchmen. Formerly it was the custom (153) for our clergy to preach there also in Portuguese, in order to attract our Romish community the more to our religion, but they saw that they accomplished little or nothing by this means and the custom fell into disuse.

For the further service of the church there are here at present, including aforesaid Ferdinandus, four visitors of the sick and one beadle, who are all paid by the Honourable Company. Two of them and the beadle (who besides his wage of /20 receives in addition 5 re<sup>s</sup>. a month from the church) keep public schools for the children, where they are taught, instructed and exercised.

The duty of a government, as a good defender of our true reformed religion and of its servants in what is necessary in this respect, is known to, and will doubtless be fulfilled by your Honour with wisdom, prudence and discretion. You will also have paid to the preachers their appointed yearly allowances, consisting in:

50 pots of Spanish wine  
 20 „ of Dutch vinegar  
 50 lbs of meat and bacon  
 50 lbs of Dutch butter and  
 10 pots of olive oil.

This is the amount hitherto enjoyed by each from the Company's stores.

(154) The deacons have at the present time here under their control a capital of [17378] re<sup>n</sup>. [46 stv.] mostly out at interest on deposit, they render an account of it every year and have it forwarded to the Governor. The community of the government which I am handing over to your Honour, consists, as before specified, of various sorts of persons, viz. Dutch burghers, black Christians, mostly Roman Catholics, Moors, Malays, Javanese and Bugis who adhere to the Mohammedan sect, further Chinese and Gentoos who cleave to heathenism. All these together make up the inhabitants or community here, and in addition the servants of the Honourable Company, consisting of troops, both soldiers and sailors, merchants, clerks, craftsmen and servants of the church. What is needed in order so to keep all these to their duty and obedience, that your Honour is honoured, respected and also beloved by them, is known to your Honour and there is therefore no need to enlarge upon it. Your Honour is provided with a Council where your Honour always presides and you are authorised with it to settle (*definieeren*) and carry into effect all matters pertaining to political and military affairs both criminal and civil. This Council consists of the servants of the Company of high standing who occupy the chief offices (115) and who at the present time are as follows:

The Hon. Adriaan Lucasz: chief merchant, second in command and administrator of trade.

Govert du Lavay, Captain of the forces.  
 Cornelis Verburgh, merchant and shabandar  
 Abraham Borgers, do. and fiscal  
 Steven Klaerbout, equipage master and  
 Jacob Snickers, merchant and head of the pay office.

The Council has as its secretary Jan van Assendelft who is also auctioneer. The merchant Adriaan van der Walle, at present

chief at Andrajirij is also counted as a member of the Council and attends its meetings whenever he is here, the seat above Sr. Snickers having been promised to him on his recent departure thither.

Besides this worthy Council there are here no other boards except of the guardians of the orphans and the commissioners for matrimonial matters, those in office at present being:—

Guardians of the Orphans.

Abraham Borgers, above mentioned  
 Jacob Sonneman, Captain of the burghers  
 Adriaen Wylant, junior merchant  
 Arnoldus de Carpentier, do.  
 Pieter van Helsdingen, do. serving as secretary.

(156) There is at the present time under their control a capital of 41483 re<sup>n</sup>. and they act in accordance with the orders given by their Honours in Batavia and embodied in their statutes. The guardians of the orphans here are also at the same time administrators of the estates of deceased inhabitants and incoming strangers and if anything of importance has to be done in such cases, they join with them the captain of the Chinese and the chief of the Moors.

Commissioners for matrimonial matters.

Cornelis Verburgh above mentioned  
 Peter van Helsdingen  
 Jan Roosdom, Lieutenant  
 Hendrick Moleman, burgher  
 Jan van Assendelft, Secretary

Governors of the hospital, which is situated in an inconvenient place in the fore part of the N. suburb opposite the fort, are at present Cornelis Verburgh aforementioned and Hendrick Temmer, first Lieutenant. The master who is at present Jan Meke is under their orders and applies to them for the supply of the hospital's weekly and monthly needs both in cash and (157) provisions by means of orders on the cashier and storekeeper (*dispencier*) which are then endorsed by them and brought to me for signature. The master renders an account thereof to the overseers as also of the sum of one stiver which is charged against the patients for each day of their stay in the hospital and is handed back to him by the shopkeeper (*winckelier*) on the order received from the Governor. The receipt of this money is then reported to the garrison bookkeeper, so that each person may be charged for his own in the account of his monthly pay and also that he may be credited with only half of his pay from the time of his entry into the hospital. The custom I found in use here and I have left it so, in order to deter those who betake themselves to hospital feigning illness without being really ill, so as the more easily to play the sluggard and to withdraw themselves from the

Company's necessary service. Experience shews that, such conduct is fairly frequent, since few men are found among the soldiers and sailors who are ambitious to avoid disgrace. In view of all this, provision is made by the overseers and the master that before patients are admitted they must be examined by the surgeon (158) and also, when he judges that they have recovered, they do not allow them to remain longer but discharge them. For this purpose it is necessary that the overseers should go to the hospital occasionally and inspect it both to maintain discipline among those who are really ill and to administer the requisite civil punishment to the guilty.

The other remaining offices of consequence are usually held by junior merchants and they may not be promoted to any higher rank so long as they remain in them. They are served at present as follows:—

The office of cashier by Anthony Voigel [H. C.—Vogel].

„ „ „ license master by Pieter van Helsdingen.

The office of shopkeeper by Adriaen Wylant.

„ „ „ storekeeper provisionally by Hendrick Wacker.

„ „ „ assistant garrison and pay-office-bookkeeper by Alexander van Lamswaerde.

„ „ „ master of the trading warehouse by Jesaias Schalp.

The duty of these persons is not unknown to your Honours, nevertheless in what follows some notes shall be given thereon. The office of equipage master is at (159) present held, also provisionally, by the skipper Steven Claerbout. Moreover, the workmen of all crafts have their own special master and the equipage master is over these. He also controls at the same time the Company's public works and, if materials are needed for them, they are bought and provided by him. Further every month he exhibits a warrant signed by himself which the Governor endorses for payment from the treasury to whoever has made said delivery of goods. Wherefore he has authority as head not only over the equipping of the ships but also over the master craftsmen here on land, together with the journeymen, in order that he may keep said carpenter, gunners with their mates, smiths, bricklayers, coopers, turners and blockmakers, as also the boatswain with his sailors to their bounden service and duty, as also the Company's slaves and the criminals confined in the Slavenburgh together with the coolies or hirelings whenever they have to be employed, whereto your Honour will be pleased not to have recourse except under urgent necessity, (160) since the daily wage is, as a rule, high and there always occurs much messing and botching (no matter how careful the supervision) without its being possible to



discover any great advance in the daily tale of work. Nevertheless, every hired slave costs the Honourable Company 8 to 10 stivers a day, for their owners will not be satisfied with less, particularly if they perceive that the labour is needed. A short time ago, when we were obliged to hire, the coolies were first assembled in the Slavenburgh and were kept there until they were discharged; they had free rations during that time from the Company like the Company's slaves and 6 stivers of daily wage in addition, in which wise more service was got from them, but even so not as much as was right, wherefore we were glad that they were not needed for longer and that we could speedily send them off, as we in fact did.

At the beginning of our government here the equipage master was not only overseer of the works but also surveyor and assayer, and was provided with the necessary orders for his instruction and the regulation of his office registered in the letter book of (161) 1665, Oct. 31 and also of March 5, 1666, which I insert here: Order for Jan Joostenbal, equipage master and at the same time overseer of the Company's public works together with the master craftsmen and their journeymen and all other workmen as also the Company's slaves, according to which he must regulate his action.

It has been decided by us with the advice and approval of the Council to entrust and commit to you in addition to your present duties as equipage master the office of overseer of the Company's public works and workmen, since formerly in the days of the old governors, Heeren van Vliet and Jan Thijssz., one and the same person was employed as chief for this purpose except in the time of our predecessor Heer Joan van Riebeeck, recently departed to Batavia, who himself superintended every master workman and appointed them their work.

Therefore in order that you be acknowledged, respected and obeyed as chief, we have furnished you with a special commission pursuant to which you have to see to it that the master craftsmen, i.e., the carpenter, gunner, bricklayer, (162) smith, cooper, turner and blockmaker together with their journeymen as also the Company's slaves are kept to their bounden service and devoir, wherefore you shall obey and observe our following order.

First of all you shall see that the masters with the men under them (none but sick persons and invalids excepted) morning and evening at a set time, that is in the morning at beat of drum and in the evening at the ringing of the bell, come to prayers which shall at those times be said by a visitor of the sick in the Slavenburgh, and that you yourself shall be present on every occasion and shall cause the boatswain also to come with his sailors. All who wilfully absent themselves shall be punished with 50 strokes of the cat, but the gunners stationed on the bastions and points shall be free from the obligation of appearing there, but must be present always at the prayers held among the soldiers at the points.

On Sundays the masters with their men shall be bound to go to church assiduously both morning and afternoon to listen devoutly to God's holy word there and to take good heed thereto. (163) Those who wilfully neglect their duty you must similarly punish with 50 strokes and you will greatly help them to attend diligently if they see that you and the master craftsmen are good examples to them therein, insomuch as they will expect this from you and them. One of the master smiths shall each in turn night by night remain in the smithy at present in the Slavenburgh and shall have his sleeping place in the little room set apart therefor, so as the better to keep the men in good order and to prevent all irregularities.

You must also see to it that each master craftsmen takes his men early in the morning, after prayers are over, to their appointed place and work as also in the afternoon after dinner and that he does not leave his place in the morning until 11 and in the afternoon till 5 o'clock when the signal for leaving off work is given by striking of the bell, meanwhile preventing anyone from idling but seeing that all are kept steadily at work.

The number of the workmen, masters included, as rendered to me, consists at present of the following persons:—

7	House carpenters	
13	Blacksmiths, nailmakers, locksmiths and sword-smiths	
7	Bricklayers	
6	Coopers	
2	Blockmakers and	
1	Turner	
In all 36	workpeople with their masters.	
9	ship's carpenters with	) under you as equipage master
29	sailors besides 1 chief	) under you as equipage master
	Boatswain	
7	Gunners distributed at the fortified points which is too small a number (164) and is to be increased to 22 so that a watch there may be kept at night and they may be employed on all necessary services by day.	

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In sum 81 men

You shall see to it that every craftsman and workman shews all due respectful obedience to the master under whom he works and promptly performs what he orders for the service of the Company.

Among said workpeople, especially those working in the smithy, we understand that some are unfit and feeble, and have

done no work for a long time or have worked only occasionally, but nevertheless draw their monthly wage and allowance. To these you must give better heed and report them to us, so that the Company may be relieved of unprofitable wage drawers.

You must give leave to no one outside the Company's service to have any private work done by the workpeople or slaves, not even out of work hours. Hereto you must give good heed and, if you discover that work is being done for private persons elsewhere, you must report to us, so that it may be prevented and the offenders punished.

The Company's slaves are at present 185 in number, i.e. 167 men, 13 women and 5 children. There are usually 25-26 (165) of them reported sick. They are all in Slavenburgh where there is also a guard of 12 soldiers under the sergeant Cornelis Pietersz. Co [? sd] aan [? Codaan].

The slaves work each day as follows:

	Men	Women	Children
At the Company's bakery	19	1	..
In the hospital	8	..	..
In the smithy and armoury	8	..	..
With the carpenters	9	..	..
In the stables	2	..	..
In the Company's garden	10	..	..
In the trade warehouses	8	..	..
In our dwelling house & the guard there	8	..	..
On the water prao (i.e. that fetches water)	7	..	..
With the storekeeper	2	..	..
With the head Surgeon	1	..	..
In Slavenburgh with the surgeon	1	..	..
Cooks in Slavenburgh	2	..	..
A bellringer	1	..	..
In the Company's cowshed	3	..	..
To fetch grass for the horses	..	12	..
Children do not work	..	..	5
Sick	25	..	..
In the gang on the public works	53	..	..
In sum as above	167	13	5

This arrangement can be continued for the present but for the change already made therein by us, i.e. that henceforth only 8 men and 1 woman slave shall be allowed to the bakery and not more than 6 to the hospital, none to the garden other than those now hired.

i It is and shall be your duty both to see whether these (166) services can be carried out by a smaller number of slaves and also

whether those who stay in the Slavenburgh under a show of illness are playing the sluggard. You must report according to what you find to be the facts, so that in this matter the necessary order may be made accordingly and that, if possible, we may have more workers for the gang.

All slaves, both men and women, who, although counted as belonging each day to the gang, have been allotted here and there as shown above, shall, if occasion arises for something to be done quickly, whether the unloading or loading of ships or anything else, be united with the common gang and employed where they are needed, wherein you must at the same time not be negligent and need have regard to no one.

You must also see to it that the junior merchant in the Company's warehouses is always provided with some workpeople, even if he asks for more than the usual number of slaves, and that we are immediately informed of the same, since we order that you shall not permit any gang slaves to work for anyone without our knowledge and previous consent, in order that the public works may not be delayed.

The shahbandar also sometimes needs slaves for going to the arriving and departing vessels, in which case, if he happens to demand them, he too is to be accommodated.

Also the fiscal, (167) whenever he journeys to the ships or elsewhere in the discharge of the duties of his office, must be provided with sailors or slaves.

Criminals confined in the Slavenburgh for their misdeeds and persons put there by their creditors for debt are at present:

3 Dutchmen in chains	}	for crime
4 men		
2 women		
9 Moors	}	for debt
5 blacks		
6 women		

Together 29 who also must all be employed on the Company's public works, except the women banished there for adultery and prostitution, who shall be kept there shut up in a separate abode and no longer allowed out and employed with the Company's women slaves in fetching grass for the horses, which we understand was the former custom, but was abrogated by us, as soon as we had knowledge of it.

Three orang kayas from the Company's dependency, the village of Nanning are also confined in said Slavenburgh in separate quarters over whom good watch must be kept and a close guard always maintained before their lodging, so that they do not (168)

escape, for they are dangers and seditious men who cannot agree with their countrymen and must not go back to them, unless they have first been reconciled and have made their peace with the others.

Every morning you must come to us to get your orders as to the works and services on which the slave gang is to be employed, after you have given us the numbers of the same and of the invalids remaining in the Slavenburgh and, at the same time, making a report to us of all the happenings of the previous day in connexion with your office and of the state of the Company's works of all kinds.

We have given the control of the arsenal or armoury to the captain of the garrison, Hadriaan Schimmelpenning van der Oij, as also over the Company's stable, so that you need not concern yourself therewith, except that you shall draw orders for weapons and other necessities wanted for the ships in the Straits on the master smith, who is also overseer of the armoury, so that after endorsement by us, the things required may be fetched thence. The master smith shall be bound to hand over such order to the said captain on each occasion.

The materials for use in the public works were formerly, in the time of my predecessor, Joan van Riebeeck, bought for the most part by the sergeant, Hendrick Jansz. Wacker, who has been employed as clerk of the works for the last 15 years. He supplied them on his Honour's order (169) whenever they were needed and came once a month to his Honour to show him what had been issued during that time and for what purpose. Then an order was drawn on the Company's cashier for all the same, and the payment was made to him, Hendrick Jansz. We propose to follow this practice for the present and to employ you for that purpose in place of said sergeant. This you must therefore fall in with and regulate your action in the purchase of said materials by the present prices stated below as furnished to us by said sergeant himself, with a recommendation however to ascertain whether they should not be available at a lower figure:—

		Re <sup>s</sup> .	Stivers
Jungle (bos)* beams	each	1	
Injate planks	each		24
Long jungle (bos)* planks	the 100	12	
Barotten	..	10	24
Rafters	..	4	
Cadjanghs	..	6	
Long lantees	the 1000	10	
Short lantees	..	4	

\* I take bos to stand for bosch, "forest, jungle" but this is not certain.  
1927] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

		Re <sup>s</sup> .
Nybooms [nibongs]	each	$\frac{1}{8}$
Adap	the 100	$\frac{5}{8}$
Roofing tiles	the 1000	16
Fired brick from the burgher		
Roelof	the 1000	5
Fired brick from the Chinesees,		
which is better	the 1000	8
Flooring bricks	the 100	8
Lime	the sifted cask	$\frac{1}{2}$
Charcoal for forging	the basket	$\frac{1}{4}$
Rattans	the 100 bundles	6

(170) Woodwork has hitherto been supplied principally by Lieut. van Twist as farmer of the same, this may as well continue until further orders from us. At present 9 hired carpenters are employed, since there is work in hand, which had to be done quickly. These are to be dismissed on its completion, either in a body or in part, according as there shall be much or little to be done at the time. As to this you must give us information in each case, so that no unnecessary hired labour may be retained. Their daily wage is at present as follows:—

4 blacks at 24	} stivers, light money
3   "       " 18	
2 Chinese,, 48	

You must see to it that they are kept steadily at their work and do not waste their time, and when there happens to be nothing to be done to the ships, must make use of the ship's carpenters also, on the joinery of the public works, if necessary, and if they can be useful therein.

You shall not have the power to take into service any hirelings, either carpenters or other craftsmen, nor any coolies or slaves, nor to discharge those already taken on until you have proved the necessity therefor to us and have obtained our consent thereto.

Since Sergeant Hendrik Jansz. Wacker aforesaid has served here both as clerk and also in part as overseer of the public works for 15 years past, and has great experience of all matters concerning them, we have appointed him as your coadjutor and assistant, to continue to perform said office of clerk and to have also some oversight and command of the works, but all under your orders.

(171) Touching your office as equipage master, I have, for the present, no recommendation to make to you, except to apply yourself (*dan de hant te houden*) [to your duties] and always to have necessary repairs done to the ships and sloops stationed in the Straits. They are at present:—

The yacht *Blommendael* for Siam  
 The flute ('t *fluijtje*) 't *Veltboen* for Ligoor  
 The flute *Zuijlen* and }  
 3 sloops (*chaloupen*) } for the blockade of Pera  
 The galliot *Hammenbiel* for Oedjangh Salangh  
 The flute *Ter Boede*  
 The small hooker *De Kemphaen*  
 The yacht *Alckmaar* } for Queda  
 The small yacht *De Fortuyt* and  
 A sloop }  
 The galley *Malacca* and } cruising on the opposite  
 A sloop *De Goede Hoop* } coast of Sumatra  
 The frigate *Cannanoor* or } here in the roadstead going  
 The lighter *De Lastdrager* } to and fro for firewood.  
 Further the sampan (*chiampan*) and the small vessel here at  
 the wharf.

Everything, both food and other things, requisitioned by these on arrival and departure, must be communicated by you to us in a note, drawn on whoever has the duty of making the issue, for our endorsement.

The unloading and loading of the incoming and outgoing space, so that the cargo may be completed with other goods, especially December from the north out of Japan, and are destined with their rich cargoes for India, you must see to having proceeded with at the utmost speed, since the honourable Company attaches the greatest importance thereto.

(172) You must give us information of ships passing here from other parts on their way to Batavia that have some cargo space, so that the cargo may be completed with other goods, especially resin, of which there is at present a great quantity in store and we usually lack ship room to transport it to Batavia.

If there chance to be any craftsmen on said ships, you shall, with our previous knowledge and consent, land them here, since we have been often in sore need of such.

In conclusion I recommend you, in this charge laid upon you, to show yourself faithful and vigilant and to have the interests of the Honourable Company most at heart, on which we shall confidently rely. We remain your good friends.

(Signed) Balthasar Bort, Michiel Curre, Hadriaen Schimpenpenninck van der Oij, Joannes Massis and Abraham den Back  
 (In the margin) Malacca, Oct. 31st 1665.

Instructions for the equipage master, Joan Joosten Bal, whereby he will have to regulate his action in his capacity of surveyor.

In view of the irregularities committed here in the past by our inhabitants in the erection and building of their houses and lodges

(*padacken*) by wilfully projecting beyond the due limits to the great disfigurement of the streets within the northern and southern suburbs respectively, therefore, in order to prevent all such irregularities and any disputes which might arise between our (173) inhabitants on account of their buildings, and in the desire also of securing in future better order and alimment than has been hitherto the case in the erection and building of said houses and lodges (*pedacken*) and all else depending thereon, we have chosen you as surveyor and give the under-mentioned points for your special instruction, so that said office may be discharged in accordance with our intention.

Firstly. No one shall henceforth be allowed to put in hand any building abutting on the property of another man unless you have first been called in and have duly alined the foundations, even if a house or lodge (*pedack*) had formerly stood on the same spot.

When the foundations have been laid according to the alinement made, no one shall be allowed to proceed further with his building until you have been summoned once more to see whether, in the laying of the foundations the alinement has been duly followed; in both cases under penalty of 10 reals, to be levied on the work-people, as well as of correcting or relaying all that you find has been built or laid beyond the alinement.

Also whoever wishes to lay the foundations of his proposed building deeper than those of his neighbour shall be bound first to provide his neighbour's house with props or support it from outside in some other way, (174) so that, in your judgment, it is properly secured, on pain of punishment at discretion and compensation for all his neighbour may happen to suffer therefrom. And any men who damages his neighbour's roof, gutters or any thing else by his building shall be obliged to have the same made good promptly at his own cost.

Any man who wishes to build or repair a party wall must do the same at his own charges, but, if his neighbour afterwards builds against (*aen*) or on the same, he shall be bound to pay the half of the cost of as much in height and width of the wall as he has built against (*aen*) or on the top of, as assessed by the surveyor.

No one shall be allowed to put in windows or derive light from another man's property nearer to the ground than 8 feet to be measured inside the house in which they are put.

Builders and joiners who have undertaken a piece of work shall not be at liberty to pass it on to someone else on penalty of a fine of 25 reals. Also they shall not be allowed to abandon the work undertaken until it is completed, unless the supply of materials fails, in which case they shall be allowed to be idle at the expense of the owner, on condition that they are bound to give warning of the approaching failure at least three days beforehand.



For the prevention of numerous disputes and quarrels, joiners and builders undertaking any piece of work (175) shall be bound, on pain of a fine of 6 reals, to have a written contract of the work and of the terms agreed on made at the secretary's office.

To prevent as far as possible all danger of fire, builders or other persons shall not be allowed in future to make or set up any lime kilns except with your previous knowledge, and then only in such places as shall be granted to them, under the above named penalty.

Also no one shall have any woodyards or sawpits on the shore, nor shall place their wood, bricks, nyphboomen, lantees or any other fencing wood except on the place to be appointed therefor, similarly on pain of a fine of 6 reals for every offence. But each person shall be at liberty to saw wood and to work it in the place where he intends to use it.

Similarly no one shall haul any vessels on land within these suburbs except at the place appointed thereto, under a fine of 6 reals.

Everyone shall henceforward be bound to make, in front of his doorstep, convenient gutters  $1\frac{1}{4}$  feet wide and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep, properly paved with brick in order that the streets may not be damaged and made impassable by the disorderly throwing out of water.

(176) Likewise no one shall come nearer to the public streets with his house or doorstep than shall be decreed on pain of a fine of 3 reals and, in addition, of the removal of the obstruction.

To all which matters you are charged to take good heed and have close regard, to the end that all may be done and promptly observed according to the real meaning of this our order.

If you are called in to survey any house or lands, your fee shall be  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a real for each square rod (*quadraet roede*) in the case of a house plot, but in the case of a garden or lands five shillings (*vijs schellinge*) per 100 square rods. If called for the inspection of foundations and so forth, you shall have one real a time.

Malacca, 5th March 1666. Your friends (signed)  
Balthasar Bort, Michiel Curre, Hadriaan Schimmelpenningh  
van der Oij, Joannes Massis and Abraham den Back.

Instructions for the equipage master, Jan Joosten Bal, to which in his quality of gauger he will have to conform.

As the ell-wands, measures and weights which are used in measuring and weighing all the wares and merchandise must of necessity be made of their due size and shape, (177) and honestly gauged, so that the merchants and our good inhabitants, in the

buying and selling of their goods, may not be cheated or defrauded, but may receive what is their due, therefore you shall, as gauger (to which office you were recently appointed), take good care that all those who have to make use in their trade of ell-wands, measures and weights are provided promptly therewith and, in order that the people may be served according to their need, you shall be bound, twice a year in the months of January and July, in the presence of the fiscal and of the chief officer of the black citizens of this northern suburb, Jacob Sonneman, in the house of said Sonneman, which is deemed the most convenient for the purpose, to hold a session for public gauging and to have notice thereof given to all on each occasion at least a week beforehand, by public beat of gong. Then the shopkeepers, innkeepers, brick and tile makers together with all those in general who in their business, as stated above, have to make use of measures, weights, ell-wands and moulds, must come to said house and have all their ell-wands, measures, weights and moulds stamped with such letter of the alphabet or other mark as (178) shall be necessary and shall pay 6 stivers for each. If anyone wishes to have any measures, ell-wands, weights or moulds stamped between whiles, he must first apply to us and must pay double fee therefor.

Pewterers must always make their pots and measures half a finger-breadth higher than they are gauged on pain of forfeiture of same.

Similarly brick and tile makers shall in future be bound to provide their moulds with copper band right round the edge for enclosing them (which they have hitherto failed to do), so that no one may be defrauded, under a penalty of 3 reals, and you must take heed to this.

Shopkeepers, brick and tile makers and others must all have their own weights, ell-wands and moulds and are not allowed to lend them to each other under a fine of 2 reals.

If you find that someone uses in his business or has in his house unstamped measures, weights, ell-wands or moulds, he shall be fined 6 reals for each the first time it is discovered, 12 the second and at discretion the third. Moreover, in addition, he shall not be allowed to do any business for three years.

Also, if it is reported to you that the shopkeepers here use no (179) ell-wands, but measure the wares they sell by guess according to their fancy, you are in such case specially charged to provide each and every one of said shopkeepers (with a view to the keeping of better order in this matter than hitherto and to the prevention of all abuses as far as possible) with an ell-wand made after the Batavian measure with a copper socket at the end for enclosing it and properly stamped, at their expense; which they shall be obliged to use at once in measuring their goods, on a penalty of 6 re<sup>s</sup>. if they are found to have acted contrary to this.

And, so that this order may be well observed, you, as well as the fiscal and the commissioners, are charged to go the rounds at least twice in the year and visit all shops, inns, brick and tile kilns and others who do business with measurnig and weighing, as occasion requires.

The stamping fees, which are of little importance here, are, after the deduction of the expenses of the stamping, granted to you as a perquisite, but the fines which may be imposed in connexion with this matter shall be divided between you and the fiscal, half to each.

(180) Done in Malacca, 5th March 1666. Your good friends (signed) Balthasar Bort, Michiel Curre, Hadriaan Schimmelpenningh van der Oij, Joannes Massis and Abraham den Back.

There is here within the fort a convenient surgeon's shop, served by the chief master surgeon, Willem Cornelisz, van Almeer. There is also senior surgeon in the hospital and 4 junior surgeons.

The storekeeper also was provided, on Aug. 1st 1671, with a written order for his information as to the receipt and issue of provisions, as also the distribution of victuals. This was registered in the letter book under the same date and is given below.

Memorandum for the storekeeper of this town of Malacca, being at this present time the junior merchant, Abraham Borgers, by which he shall regulate his action.

Since it is necessary that you should know your duty, and on what lines you have, in the main, to conduct yourself, and since no order has been made up to the present with reference thereto, this shall serve as such for you, in order to prevent all irregularities and abuses.

(181) Firstly then, when any ships from Batavia, Cormandel, Bengal or other places come into these roads bringing provisions among other things, you must ask the chief trading merchant for an extract from the bill of lading and shall receive the same according thereto.

All grain, also salt, beans, kadjangh and everything else of that nature, before you have it stored in the magazine, must be properly measured again by the ordinary measure of 60 lbs, 50 of such just making a last (*maet van 60 port, de 50 effe een last maekenda*), in the presence of yourself or your assistant and, from the ship's crew, one of the signatories of the bill of lading, either the skipper, the purser or his assistant, so as to avoid all complaint, both as to delivery and receipt.

After receipt you shall make a report as to how far it corresponds with the bill of lading and what portions have been delivered short or over weight.

All other provisions, e.g. meat, bacon, butter, sugar, wax, also wine, rum, arack, oil, vinegar and other such things, as soon as they are brought ashore, shall first be carefully examined, the liquids being guaged and the dry goods weighed with Dutch weights and scales in the presence of two commissioners joined with you for this purpose at your request made to me.

(182) After an exact examination has been made by said commissioners of said provisions, they shall issue a certificate declaring plainly and definitely that everything has been found absolutely correct, without diminution or addition. This declaration must then be handed over to us to be used as necessary.

No hard (?) (*harde?*) victuals may be brought by you or by your orders from inhabitants or strangers except with our special knowledge and consent. Having obtained my order therefor, you must see to it that everything is well weighed and measured and stored in a convenient place.

All arack, both the strong and common kinds, bought from the Chinese and usually issued as rations to the ships, when it is brought into the Company's storehouse, must be accepted only on approval by the tasters for the time being and, if found too bad by them, a report must be made to us, so that we may act as the exigency of the case demands.

For all provisions bought and received in good condition, you shall give a signed receipt expressly stating the quantity and quality, together with the agreed price, the whole sum and the purveyors thereof, (183) and on the back you shall make an order on the cashier which must be countersigned by us. By means of this order the purveyor must get his payment from the Company's chest.

On the other hand you must not issue or give out any victuals or anything else from the Company's store to persons or ships, sloops, praos, the Company's hospital, Slavenburgh or to anyone else except with our express knowledge and under our signed order. Members of the Council, however you may accommodate with some provisions for the use of their households only, but no more, without our order, at the ordinary prices, viz.:

Meat and bacon	at 6 stivers	a lb.
Dutch butter	at $\frac{1}{4}$ re <sup>s</sup> .	a lb.
Bengal butter	at $\frac{1}{8}$ ..	a lb.
The picol of white sugar	for 6 re <sup>s</sup> .	
The can of Spanish wine	for $\frac{5}{8}$ re <sup>s</sup> .	
The picol of black sugar	for 3 re <sup>s</sup> .	
The can of olive oil	for 1 re <sup>s</sup> .	

The can of Dutch vinegar	for 10 stivers
The pot of cocoanut oil	for 3 stivers
The can of brandy	for 1 re <sup>s</sup> .
The one measure of salt	for $\frac{3}{8}$ ..

(184) This may be done provided that a good record is kept of everything and payment demand monthly and made into the Company's treasury with a signed order from us.

You must not serve those who, besides the members of the Council, are allowed to purchase provisions from the Company's storehouse (on our signed order), until they have shown by the receipt from the cashier that payment has been made to the Company's chest.

But, as regards wine, candles and lamp oil supplied monthly to counting houses and other places, you may continue to issue them, until you get a fresh order from us, according to the ordinary usage, following and in conformity with the list that has been made and put at your disposal herewith for your instruction.

The soldiers and sailors here on shore, as also the Company's slaves, must have issued to each of them every month 40 lbs of rice, one measure of which must definitely be taken from the least durable rice. Their number will be brought to you every month by the clerk of the garrison and the sergeant of Slavenburgh by signed order from us.

All ships and sloops, so long as they lie here in the roads, (185) enjoy every Saturday with our signed order the usual weekly supply, according to the number of those on board, viz.:

- A ship with 60 to 70 men: 1 pig at 6 re<sup>s</sup>. and 1 re<sup>s</sup>. worth of green vegetables;
- A ship with 50 to 55 men: 1 pig at 5 re<sup>s</sup>. and 1 re<sup>s</sup>. worth of green vegetables;
- A ship with 40 to 45 men: 1 pig at 4 re<sup>s</sup>. and 1 re<sup>s</sup>. worth of green vegetables;
- A ship with 30 to 35 men: 1 pig at 3 re<sup>s</sup>. and 1 re<sup>s</sup>. worth of green vegetables,
- A ship with 15 to 25 men: 1 pig at 2 re<sup>s</sup>. and  $\frac{1}{2}$  re<sup>s</sup>. worth of green vegetables;

and all other ships with larger or smaller crews *pro rato* [sic]. You must go on this order and not exceed it, but take good heed that the pigs are not too small for their price and the vegetables are not charged at a higher than their purchase price.

If the ships have sick on board or are going on or returning from distant voyages, where they are likely to have or to have had few provisions, they must be somewhat more liberally provided, as opportunity occurs, but this must be done on our order or special command, by which you can regulate your action.

Since for the purchase of said provisions money is necessary, you have only to make an order on the cashier for the definite sum of 100, 150 or 200 re<sup>s</sup>. which you find by experience to be needed for 2, 3 or 4 months for this purpose. On this, after it has been endorsed by us, you receive the cash from the Company's chest, and make a (186) new order, in the same way as before, when the first is found to have been exhausted.

The fruit or vegetables, which are fetched from the Company's garden, for provisioning the ships, you must charge just as if they were bought for cash, reporting the amount monthly by order signed by us, to the Company's chest, so that it may be possible to see clearly how much cash you have expended yearly.

Every month you must see to having ready in good time two detailed accounts, one to hand to me, and the other to the chief merchant, of all victuals, both ordinary and extraordinary, issued from the Company's store in the previous month and sold for cash, bearing in mind that, not in the chief merchant's, but only in the detailed account you give to me, there must always be, in addition, a statement at the foot of the provisions issued monthly to the ships, without any being omitted, as also of all that is left in the Company's store after deduction of what has been given out in the previous month, so that we may make use of this information at need.

On the other hand, however, it is not monthly but on each occasion when ships (187) or sloops, not assigned to Malacca, are on the point of departure for Batavia, Cormandel, Bengal or other places, that you must, in good time before their departure, render to said chief merchant a detailed account in writing of everything you have issued to said ships during their stay here, so that it may be entered in the expenses account and said ship's account may then be closed in your books.

But as to the yachts and sloops assigned to and under Malacca, as to wit both those employed in cruising in these Straits and those blockading Pera and Queda, as also in the voyages from Siam, Ligor, Oedjanghsalangk, Dilly and various other places, everything they have from the Company's store is entered in full with the day of the month in each ship's account. This is closed once a year, viz. on the last day of July, and the account book is put at the disposal of the chief trading merchant for him to have an expenses account made from it and the equipage and other accounts and to give or send its own account to each vessel to be entered betimes in the ship's books and to credit the trade books (which are then also closed) to that amount for the goods and provisions which the ships have had issued to them.

You may as well continue in the old way with the small books of the store, since they are very easy to (188) keep, for in making new books all balances and also provisions and cash received\*

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\* Reading *ontfangen*, though the original looks like *ontgangen*.

afterwards are debited only to the Malacca office and moreover in case of issue of goods and the closing of the books *in contra*, all expenditures are again adjusted, so that the Malacca office is always debtor or creditor.

In conclusion, we recommend you always to have the Company's store kept clean and in good order and to take good care of all provisions, so as to prevent their being neglected or wasted by leakage or otherwise or misused or squandered or carried off without leave by your subordinate. Herein we shall rely on you and with an easy mind trust you to maintain these principles and so continue. We remain your friend (signed) Balthasar Bort (in the margin) Malacca, 1st Aug. 1671.

By reason of the recent Manicaber war, provisions, not only pigs, fowls and ducks, but all kinds of vegetables, have become so scarce and dear; that the ships when lying here in the roads have had to do without the ordinary issues. However the breeding of cattle and the sowing and planting of devastated orchards having begun again to improve, we hope that under your Honour's rule there will be no lack, so that the necessary fresh provisions may be issued to the ships' crews.

(189) In order to keep a close watch over the supplies and fresh provisions issued to the ships and sloops, so that no fraud or unfaithful dealings may be committed therein, the chief merchant and second in command, the honourable Adriaan Lucasz: is charged to take good heed thereto, and, in making the expenses accounts, to compare the same with the orders issued on the storekeeper and others for supplies, which is to be seen in full in the resolution passed thereon and included here.

Friday, 19th Nov. 1677.

The Governor, this morning after disposing of public judicial affairs, caused to be read in the Council the missive of their Honours the High Government of India at Batavia, dated 19th Oct. last together with an extract from the general resolution of the 10th Aug. brought to us with several other enclosures on the 9th inst. by the fly ships, *Beemster*, *Wimmemum* and *Marcken*, wherein mention is made that the reasonable standard in the making and drawing up, in some outstations, of the expenses accounts for the ships touching there is exceeded, giving rise to a suspicion that such heavy disbursements must take place without the previous knowledge of the governors, directors, commanders or heads of such places. This surmise is further increased by the complaints of some skippers, who assert that they have had to sign for goods they have never had and, if they (190) refuse, they are threatened with being deprived (*gelicht*) of their ships. Wherefore their Honours, for the prevention of all such fraudulent and unfaithful dealings, had decided and decreed by their resolution afore named, to give orders everywhere to have issues made as sparingly and economically as is in any wise practicable. Also that the

governor, director, commander or superintendent (*opperbooft*) shall every time have to give an express written order therefor, so that, at the time of the departure of the ships, it may be examined and compared by their honours themselves, or by those to whom this task is entrusted on their behalf, with the expenses account, item by item (*van post tot*); that note is expressly taken of the valuation of the goods and whether they are entered in the account according to the ordinary current price.

Wherefore it was then decided and unanimously agreed by us in council assembled, in compliance with their Honours' aforesaid resolution, to recommend the accurate supervision of the aforesaid expenses accounts to the honourable Adriaan Lucasz., chief merchant and second in command in this government, since they had always been drawn up in the trading office and had been endorsed hitherto by the assignor (*overdrager*), provided that his Honour aforesaid himself examines the same in future and endorses them, before they are handed to the bookkeeper of the ships to be entered in the books.

(191) In order well and conveniently to keep safe and store the provisions, especially the rice, so as always to have enough in reserve and with a view to the likelihood that, with the lapse of time, there might be a lack of good warehouses, their Honours in Batavia last year agreed, at our request, and gave leave for the construction of a new storehouse within the fort between the bastions Victoria and Emelia, the size of which was planned by me and communicated to their Honours aforesaid. It is to be 12 rods in length and 3 in width with a flat roof. Only one wall need be built, since the wall between said bastions can serve as the second wall. A beginning has not yet been made of this storehouse, although there are already in store along the seashore here, 3000 red bricks, 22 inches long, 10 wide and 6 thick, fetched by the Javanese and paid for at 6 stivers apiece in heavy money. The everyday work and the lack of the slaves needed for this job have not allowed of it; moreover the woodwork for it must first come from Siam, and men skilled in the making of flat roofs, together with the best materials needed therefor from Cormandel, whence the same have been ordered by us; I hope they will soon reach your Honour. It should not, however, be necessary to wait for them, a beginning should be made with the building of the wall as (192) quickly as in any way possible, and thereafter the whole building should be finished in a strong and durable manner, there being great reason therefor, since there are now no other provision stores above ground here, within the fort, except under some dwelling houses, and these were already at the time of the Portuguese overthrow mostly old and dilapidated. Wherefore, in order not to fall on occasion into difficulties, this new store must be made there, the place being very convenient for the purpose, since it is near the guardhouse of the bastion Victoria, through the back



gate of which the provisions can be carried in and out since the boats and ships' boats, even the sampans, can come up the river as far as the said bastion. For the flooring of said storehouse 4000 rough, square ashlar-stones have also been sent for from Corman-del.

The office of license master was first instituted here in my time, for it was already to some extent necessary in order to give some relief to the shahbandar in his work, because the imports began to increase. Before this time only one assistant had been employed as first deputy for this purpose and, in order that no delay should be suffered owing to his lack of authority\*, I issued for them both a full memorandum, of which their Honours in Batavia received a copy. It was (193) somewhat shortened and curtailed by them, and was returned in the year 1668 reading as follows:

Memorandum for the Shahbandar and deputies of the same sent to Malacca from Batavia.

1. The shahbandar or one of his subordinates must be in the custom-house every day except Sunday from seven to eleven in the morning, and from two to five in the afternoon.

2. If envoys (*gesanten*) arrive from abroad, he or one of his subordinates shall proceed forthwith to them, in order to inform himself of the same and of the cargo and to report to the Governor, so as to await instructions as to what official reception shall be given them;

3. Without defraying the charges of any at the Company's expense or remitting the duties except with the Governor's consent;

4. Letters of state arriving or being dispatched, he must see to having duly translated, and must sew up those for dispatch with white or yellow, according to the dignity of those to whom they are addressed.

5. As soon as any vessel not carrying envoys on board anchors at the Red Island (*'t roode Eijland*) or in the roads, the shahbandar or one of his subordinates aforesaid shall forthwith go to it to ascertain the cargo, the nachoda's name, the number of the crew and the place whence it comes, so as to prevent smuggling.

6. Small vessels, however, which come over the shallows, shall at first lie up inside by the customhouse to be registered as above.

(194) 7. The same procedure shall be followed in the case of departing vessels before they have their permits delivered.\*

\* The original has *impotensie*, which can hardly mean "physical inability" here.

\* Or "before they have handed over their permits" (*eer dat haer passedul sal hebben overhandigt*)? But they would need permits in order to leave the port.

8 And the deputies aforesaid shall, when any ship or vessel has arrived, forthwith inform the shahbandar of its arrival and he shall keep an exact record of the goods coming in and going out, each in a special memorandum book, and from this record he must make the assessment of the market price, so as to order and collect the dues, comparing the specification and accounts one with the other, so that he may deposit every month in the Company's chest the moneys in the shahbandar's keeping with an order signed, in the margin, by the shahbandar and his deputy and, at the foot, by the Governor.

9. If any difference in assessment occurs between the shahbandar and the license master, the advice of the chief merchant thereon shall be taken and followed.

10. A note from the memorandum book of all vessels arriving and departing shall be brought to the Governor every evening.

11. Also every week or month a summary of all [arrivals and departures] shall be furnished to the Secretary's office to be inserted in the day-book.

12. No strangers may be in the streets after sunset on pain of a fine of 12 r<sup>n</sup>. and the loss of their vessels.

(195) 13. On the same penalty no one shall carry crises within the jurisdiction of Malacca except the nachodas, who receive a memorandum to this effect and are warned thereof.

14. And according to the old custom the Javanese must take all arms to the shahbandar's house until their departure and only the nachoda may keep his crisis.

15. In order that no losses may be suffered by the tolls, the nachodas shall, on their arrival, provide a surety for the same, or else, from their cargo, put the amount in pledge at the custom-house.

16. In the case of trusted inhabitants of Malacca, it is allowed to wait for about 2 or 3 weeks till their departure, but not with persons of insufficient means (*insuffisante*), except under surety.

17. No goods, except the Company's, shall pass the boom until after exhibition of the manifest, payment of the tolls and permission to pass in or out, on pain of forfeiture of the goods concealed and of the vessel as well, and punishment as the occasion demands.

18. Moreover no settlement or composition shall be made with reference to the above except in small matters and with the Governor's consent, and the composition shall then be divided into three parts,  $\frac{1}{3}$  *proffisc[o]*,  $\frac{1}{3}$  to the license master and the informer (*aenbrenger*) and the other  $\frac{1}{3}$  to the Honourable Company.

(196) 19. Small disputes between foreigners may be dealt with by the shahbandar and license master, so as to prevent greater difficulties, but any of importance must be laid before the Governor and Council.

20. As harbourmaster also he must keep good order in the berthing of the vessels, so that it may always be possible to pass up and down the river.

21. Passes to Johor and to the coast of Java and those to Pera and beyond as far as Trangh must be signed by the shahbandar in the margin and by the Governor at the foot, but those for nearer places by the shahbandar only, both with clauses for the outward and return voyages; those who sail direct or by way of Batavia to Java, also Portuguese or Moors or others going to Bengal and beyond must provide themselves there [at their destinations] with passes for return.

22. To prevent robbing and plundering by the inhabitants and slaves, those who go out to fetch wood and stone, whether by sea or land, must provide themselves with a memorandum from the shahbandar, so that they may be recognized by the inspectors of the jungle and the cruisers at sea.

23. No passes to be granted to Baros or elsewhere on the west coast [of Sumatra] to persons from Jambij to Queda inclusive.

(197) The following is duty free, viz.

24. Peper } imported, provided that it is all delivered to the  
Tin and } Honourable Company, on pain of confiscation, but  
Resin } the people of Johor may take the tin, free of duty,  
from the places subject to that state to Johor.

Similarly

Rice } provided that they are first offered to the Com-  
Paddy } pany and that no rice is exported and that no  
Slaves and } Christian slaves are sold to Moors.  
Buffaloes }

25. So also gold and silver, whether coined or not, diamonds, rubies and other stones, pearls, musk, civet, pedro porco [bezoar] and other valuables, provided that all are delivered to the Honourable Company; but, since that seldom happens, it is permitted freely to trade the same to any one except the Company's servants, simply paying 10% for importation.

The following pays 10% for import and 5% for export, whether bought by the Company or by others.

26. All kinds of Surat, Cormandel, Bengal and other cloths and piece goods, but four-footed cattle, peas, beans and wheat 5% on import.

27. Fruit from the Company's gardens north and south of the town, which are let, is to be sold by auction in the bazaar and half of the proceeds given to the Company, but on fruit from gardens belonging to private owners only 10%.

(198) 28. Slaves taken away to places belonging to the Company 5 riksdollars each, but to other regions, 10re<sup>s</sup>.; children half price.

29. Iron and lead not bought by the Company 20% on export, otherwise 5%.

30. Reals and other hard coinage exported 10%, but copper and lead coins no duty.

31. Small wares from the neighbouring places on the coast, both to the north and south, such as fowls, eggs, fish, fruit, etc., also rattangh, cadjangh, cooking pots, sandalwood and eaglewood 10%, and, if thereafter exported, 5% like other goods, but, if the Company is the buyer, duty free. Rattangh and cadjangh must always be offered to the Company.

32. Moors and Portuguese from Cormandel and Bengal must have a tenth of their merchandise unloaded by the shahbandar and commissioners in their presence to be then turned into money by public sale, but the duty for wheat and butter must be paid in cash.

33. But, if any of the Moors remain at Malacca and export any of their aforesaid goods to Johor, no duty is to be levied at the time, but on their return 10% *pro rata* (*na rato*) of the goods exported, because they bring back gold for them in secret.

34. All subjects of Johor, nobles and common people have to pay export and import duties, but the nobles are mostly, with the consent of the Governor, excused by courtesy.

(199) 35. The shahbandar gets 10% of betel coming down the river from Nanningh for the entertainment of envoys, nachodas, etc. on departure and arrival.

36. So also the Nanning crop yielding yearly scarcely 30 re<sup>s</sup>. for the Company.

37. Over and above the aforesaid duty all strangers pay as poll tax  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a re<sup>s</sup>., and those who depart to Pera, Queda, Jonghsalangk, Aatchin, Jambij, Palimbangk, Batavia, Java and places beyond Johor and Calangk pay one re<sup>s</sup>. for a pass and, for anchorage dues, from one to four re<sup>s</sup>. according to the tonnage of the vessel.

38. For a pass to Johor, Bencalis, Seacq, Racan, Callangk. Andragirij and Campher  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a re<sup>s</sup>. and, for anchorage dues,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a re<sup>s</sup>.

39. For a pass to Rombouw, Songhoedjongh, Moar, Padangk and Riaformosa  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a re<sup>s</sup>.

40. Vessels going to aforesaid places without discharging cargo are duty free and pay only poll tax, pass and anchorage dues, but, if they discharge cargo, they are bound to pay full duty.

41. Goods having paid duty to the Company once at Batavia or elsewhere are free of import dues but not otherwise, unless they do not discharge cargo.

42. All foreigners who are not Christians and not resident in Malacca pay only export duty and pass money.

(200) 43. But, if they return, they must pay, in addition to the duty,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a re<sup>s</sup>. poll tax and anchorage dues as aforesaid like the Christians who live here, but do not pay poll tax.

44. Portuguese [vessels] on their passage from Goa or Maccauw and other regions, whether king's ships or belonging to private persons, pay as follows: small yachts 300 re<sup>s</sup>. medium sized 400 and large ships 500 for the outward and the same for the return passage, but, if they discharge their cargo, they pay 10% customs and no passage dues; if they trade only part of their cargo and take the rest on, they must pay the passage dues as well as the customs dues for the goods sold, but without paying dues for the resin they export, because they buy it from the Company.

45. All ships belonging to the king of Siam are free from all dues, wherever they are going or returning to.

46. The farmers of the fish and vegetable markets must always keep them clean and must put the benches, blocks etc. under cover every night.

47. Wine-sellers pay, besides 2 re<sup>s</sup>. per month to the farmer, 75 re<sup>s</sup>. for each wine cask, 50 for the community (*voor 't gemeen*) and 25 for the town, on pain of forfeiture of the wine and punishment at discretion.

48. All others are also subject to this penalty who have bought wine in their own name and handed it over to the wine-sellers.

(201) 49. But the town innkeeper shall pay only 40 re<sup>s</sup>. for the cask of wine; and of all said duties etc. due accounts and books shall be kept *in forma* according to old custom, as stands more fully noted in article 8.

Batavia in the Castle, 21st September, 1668. On the order of their Honours, signed Jan van Riebeeck, Secretary.

From this memorandum your Honour can see the services and duties of the shahbandar and license master together with their subordinates, as also what goods and merchandise pay for import and export; moreover what goods and merchandise are free. In this matter such alteration has since been made as I have noted in the margin\* of articles 24, 25, 26, 32, 35, 36, 44 and 47; rice and paddy, if not supplied to the Company now paying 5 riks-dollars for the load or 8 re<sup>s</sup>. for the Malaccan coijangh, that is 1 re<sup>s</sup>. for the 100 gantangs, each of 6 lbs.; Malacca's own crop is exempt therefrom, in order to give more encouragement to the people to plant.

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\* Not in the India office Copy.

There is no lack of rice here, notwithstanding this charge, when Java, which is now disturbed, is at peace and gives others a share of its crop.

(202) Money is paid in place of the 10, at present only 5% of what is imported, in order, by this reduction, to cause it to be less kept secret, it being possible easily to conceal the same when the declaration is made, as formerly was always wont to happen, but not so now.

The duty on Company's cloth is also reduced from 5 to  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ , in order to bring about larger sales of it and smaller of the Moorish cloth (which pays so much more).

The Porto Novas vessels used formerly, on departure, to pay 5% for what they were exporting but, since it usually consisted entirely of gold, they paid nothing of it and so few goods of small value that the duty was altogether too poor, consequently there was later imposed on them on arrival a duty of 13%, instead of 10, of their cloth of every kind, which afterwards is sold publicly, in the presence of the Governor and Council for what it will fetch, so that now they are free of duty on the goods they export. The proceeds of this cloth paid as duty used formerly to run to 48-50000 gls.; but this sea traffic is not now so great, so that the proceeds are not so large, in fact they are reduced by half.

The trade of the Portuguese at Goa and Maccauw has sensibly declined, their cargoes thither (203) are very poor and they constantly importune us to reduce the passage—, or, as they call them, anchorage-dues. This request has frequently been granted, if they in fact showed us the smallness of their ships and of the cargo, so that they paid on these occasions only 150, 200, 250, 300, 350-450 re<sup>a</sup>. once for the outward voyage and as much for the return passage. May it please your Honour also to act with discretion in this matter, so as to give these people no cause for complaint; moreover to see that nothing else than these passage dues is demanded from anyone and that because it was the custom here under their own rule that their passing ships trading paid all such anchorage dues and also on the strength of a provisional agreement made between the Viceroy Don Philippo Mascarenhas in Goa and the chief merchant Cornelis van Sanen in 1646 to the following effect:

Provisional agreement between his Excellency the Viceroy Don Philippo Mascarenhas and the very honourable and valiant Cornelis van Sanen, chief merchant and director of the United East India Company, at the factory of Wingurla, for the settlement of the questions propounded (204) by the Dutch with reference to the dues they claim in the fort of Malacca.

In the name of God amen, Be it known to all those, who shall see this contract of agreement and composition, that in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1646, on the 18th of April, in the courtyard of the fort of this town of Goa, in the presence of his Excellency Don Philippo Mascarenhas, Councillor of State of his

Majesty, Viceroy and Captain General of India and the very honourable and valiant Cornelis van Sanen, chief merchant, captain and director of the United East India Company, in the factory of Wingurla, with express commission from the Council of Batavia to make a provisional agreement on the questions propounded touching the dues claimed in the town and fort of Malacca, by said commission empowered thereto by letters sent to his Excellency the Viceroy their contents being as follows, word for word (*van verbo ad verbum*).

Conversations have been held about the tolls and dues of Malacca with his Honour and some merchants of Maccauw, but no agreement has been reached, although quite equitable (205) proposals were made on our side, wherefore, if your Honour, for the prevention of unpleasantness, deems it necessary to come to some definite decision thereon, you can treat with our chief merchant in Wingurla, Cornelis van Sanen, to whom we have given full powers therefor. Any decision come to with him we shall hold binding.

By virtue of the same commission and order, his Excellency the Viceroy conferred with the said commissioner on the matter, maintaining that, as a matter of right, the ships from this town passing by Malacca without unloading or selling goods there are not liable to any impost. To this his Honour answered that they were liable to said due or impost, as appears from the documents on both sides referring to the same, but, in order to avoid danger to the preservation of amity and the continuance of the good peace and reciprocal relations between the two nations, it is granted and agreed for the settlement of the same, until submission to the decision of our sovereigns, as follows:

Firstly, that this provisional agreement is made in the interests of peace and secondly, shall not prejudice at any time the rights, sovereignty and possessions of his Serene Highness the king (206) of Portugal and of their High Mightinesses the States. All that which the Dutch have enjoyed or shall enjoy in the aforesaid fort [in pursuance of this agreement] is to be restored to the Portuguese, if the approval of our sovereigns is not given to the agreement that the ships of his Majesty or of the merchants of this town on their way to China or other places by the southward, or sailing direct to Malacca should only have to pay 6% of the goods which they actually sell there and the Dutch shall pay the same of the goods they sell in the places belonging to his Majesty.

In pursuance of the contract made in Batavia by the Council with the merchants of Maccauw in the presence of the Rev. Father Fre Gonsalvo St. Josepho, each vessel, great or small, on its way to Maccauw without unloading or selling goods in Malacca, shall pay for going and returning two *schuiften*\* of gold into the hands of the merchant of said fort as a deposit, not as tribute, until an answer is received from Europe.

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\* Perhaps meaning "ingots" of some recognized weight.

The ships of his Majesty shall be free and exempt from this contribution and shall not pay it nor any (207) portion of the goods forming the cargo of the ships of the same; they shall only be liable to examination under oath in order to discover whether they have any merchants' wares on board; in the event of such being found, the owners must pay  $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ , for going and coming, on what is in excess of one pinnace load. If they have only one pinnace load on board, they pay no more than the same two (*schuip-ten* scoops) of gold, also on deposit.

Small ships passing Malacca and not proceeding to China shall pay  $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ , even if they do not unload or sell any goods in said place and shall be allowed to carry out their voyage, trade and commerce without other obligation or impost and without vexation or opposition, but, on the contrary, with all help and assistance from the Dutch, whose ships shall receive the same favour from us.

The which established and firm agreement, as has been said, both have sworn to have proclaimed, to maintain and to preserve in its entirety and to have so preserved and fulfilled each by his subjects, until a decision is received from Europe, viz. his Excellency the Viceroy for himself and succeeding Viceroys and Governors and his Honour the Commissioner in the name of the Council of Batavia and their successors by virtue of the powers which I the Secretary declare to have seen, whereto I have bound them with public vow and oath overleaf on the holy Gospels, the Viceroy swearing on a missal and the aforesaid commissioner on the bible, before the witnesses signing below:

Don Philipppo de Mascarenhas; Cornelis van Sanen; Secretary Deuwartj de Figuredo de Mello; Fre Gonsalvo de St. Josepho; Francisco de Melo de Castero, Proveedor Moor dos Contos; Anthonio de Soisa Coitingo, Capitayn Moor de Noort; Jan van Teijlingen, chief merchant; Anthonij Oudermeulen, chant; Jacob Roscam and Leendert Jansz., both junior merchants in the service of the general company present *ut supra*.

However, much disputing and cavilling arose at once over this agreement, so that it came to nothing.

From the Moors coming to trade at Queda 10% is also taken, if we go there to exact it.

(209) In addition to the aforesaid tolls and dues, there are here certain other imposts which are farmed out annually (as heretofore touched upon) on the anniversary of the conquest of Malacca, viz. the 14th Jan. Their latest yield was 4735 re<sup>s</sup>. to the Company's profit, to wit:

The sale of cloth and provisions, the farmer taking 2 re<sup>s</sup>. a month for the Moorish cloth sold in shops, but only 1 for the Company's cloths, similarly those who sit or



move about in the street selling them, pay 1 re <sup>s</sup> .; the same sum of 1 re <sup>s</sup> . is paid monthly by those who sell provisions. Last farmed out at:	750 re <sup>s</sup> .
The sale of fish, vegetables and other wares in both the markets, the farmer taking $\frac{3}{4}$ of a re <sup>s</sup> . monthly from the stallholders	520 ..
Rice market. The sellers pay $\frac{3}{4}$ of a re <sup>s</sup> . per month	55 ..
The timber brought from the jungle paying 10%	115 ..
The distilling of arrack and innkeepers, the former paying 24 and the latter 2 re <sup>s</sup> . per month, now farmed for four years, yields yearly	800 ..
Salt and freshwater fish paying 1 in 10	870 ..
Slaughtering cattle, 1 re <sup>s</sup> . for each big beast, and for small beasts a tenth of the value	175 ..
Weighing money paying a percentage of 10%	600 ..
(210) The Company's garden, farmed for 3 years, yielding in the year	80 ..
The drawbridge over the river, $\frac{1}{8}$ of a re <sup>s</sup> . being paid for each mast of a vessel passing through	70 ..
The poll tax on the Chinese, each paying $\frac{1}{4}$ of a re <sup>s</sup> . per month	400 ..
The assaying of measures and weights	50 ..
The fishing in the moat on the landside of the fort, no one but the farmer having the power to give leave for fishing there	50 ..
The betel or sirij crop within Malacca, the farmer drawing $\frac{1}{4}$ of a re <sup>s</sup> . for every 100 poles where it grows	200 ..
<hr/>	
Amounting yearly to re <sup>s</sup> .	4735 ..

The farming of above mentioned sirij has been begun only this year for 200 re<sup>s</sup>. as stated. It should, in course of time be worth more, for the planting here (*de plantage*) in Malacca of those much esteemed green leaves, which are chewed with pinank, has already sensibly increased since the cessation of the import from Nanningh, from which place, as being now an enemy country, these things may not be brought here, whereby the Honourable Company stands to lose the duty placed thereon, which brought in on the last occasion 730 re<sup>s</sup>. (211) In time our own crop will produce as much. Moreover it comes to pass that our inhabitants here are so much the better kept to work and the money derived therefrom remains in their hands, instead of, as formerly, being drawn by the traders of Nanningh and carried off to their country, which also seems to have made them somewhat wanton and luxurious. For which reason and in order not to cause the decay of our own sirij plantations, it is a matter for great consideration, should peace be made with these people, whether we ought to allow the import and sale of their sirij in this place. The inhabitants and strangers are, moreover, by now quite accustomed to that of our own growing, and are as eager for it, as they formerly were for that of Nanning.

It was hitherto the custom for 10% of the capital sum to be paid when ships, junks, sloops or boats were sold, whereof, in the above memorandum for the shahbandar, no mention has been made, perhaps because it seldom happened, but in 1674 their Honours in Batavia reduced the due to the 20th or 5% and sent a printed proclamation of the change. By this our custom here is now also regulated, it reads as follows:

Joan Maatsuyker, Governor General and the Council of India on behalf of the United (212) Dutch Company, to all those who see these presents or hear them read, greeting. We make it known that it has been found, after careful consideration, that with regard to the ships, junks and other vessels, of which, in the event of sale, a tenth has hitherto had to be paid according to orders, such sum has not, after the sale, been received, as the custom and practice of our country enjoin. This results in a sensible reduction of the just dues of the government, therefore, to prevent such things in future, it is agreed and decided that henceforth every time that any ship, junk, sloop or other vessel is sold, alienated, transferred or exchanged, there must be paid to the receiver the due 20th of the price or value without distinction as to the manner in which the transaction may be carried out, except only the first sale made by the builder before the ship or other vessel makes its first voyage.

The due on the ships, junks and other vessels shall be reckoned from the whole of the purchase money without any deduction for the guns, anchors, cordage, sails, masts, yards or any other necessary equipment or apparatus belonging or pertaining to the ship to the cooking utensils inclusive, unless (213) the same being sold apart from the ships, are too old and unsuitable to be used on other ships, in which case they shall be exempt from this impost. As to the guns, masts, sails, anchors, cordage and further equipment belonging to the ship, not only shall the aforementioned due be paid when the same are sold together with the ship, but also if they are sold or alienated separately and not with the ships.

The aforesaid due must be paid here, not only when the vessels are sold here in Batavia, but also elsewhere without distinction of place or person, and permission for the sale must first be obtained, if the persons to whom the sale is to be made belong to either foreign or interdicted nations. Nevertheless, if the sale is made in some other place that is under the government of the Company and said due is paid there and the claim of the Company satisfied, then it shall be sufficient for the seller to give notice and adequate proof of the same. And, in order that herein there may be no fraud or failure, the skippers, or such other persons as may have made the sale, shall, within four weeks after their return to Batavia, (214) be bound to declare to the receiver or license master where, to whom, and at what price the same have been sold with due particulars of all that can serve thereto, which particulars the sellers shall be bound to confirm by oath, if such is demanded by the proper person. All this on pain of a double impost to be

paid by any who shall be found to have failed to perform what is prescribed above. The owners of the ships shall not allow them to begin any voyage or to depart from Batavia before it is proved that the aforesaid due has been paid. The due aforesaid must be paid, not only if the ship is sold as a whole, but also for every part that is sold and however many times this may happen.

The community here must not be burdened with more imposts than aforesaid for the present, especially so long as the poverty of their condition does not change for the better.

In the trading office here good order is maintained by the chief merchant, Adriaan Lucasz: afore mentioned, and the books are kept by himself; the daybook in such wise that complaints (215) have never been made. These same trade books, with those of the garrison, treasury, store and storekeeper's books are all closed here on the 31st of July and, with the trade books of Andragierij and Pera, as also the ships' books with their adjuncts and an inventory of all goods not assessed, acknowledged or entered in the trade books, are sent to Batavia in Sept. or Oct., according as they are ready in good time, and opportunity offers for sending them.

The general custom in the matter of trade and everything connected therewith is observed here also, consequently nothing is issued by the administrator of trade from the warehouses or by the storekeeper from the provision stores to anyone, unless he first proves to them by means of a receipt from the cashier that the latter has received payment for the Honourable Company, which receipt said cashier hands to persons who come to him with orders signed by the Governor stating the sum of money they must pay for their purchases. The cashier also has no power to make any payment to anyone for merchandise and goods delivered to the Honourable Company except by express order from the Governor. But, since it has proved troublesome to the chief trading merchant and the storekeeper not to issue to this one and that trifles for their own use, (216) permission for this is given to them for the convenience of the people, and, so as not to take such small sums daily to the treasury, they are allowed to receive them themselves and, at the end of the month, to set them all on one memorandum, which is then signed by the Governor, and the money is paid in to the treasury.

Nowadays no sale of cloth or anything else is made by the shop keeper, but only issues to the Company's servants against deductions from their pay to such amount, both in goods and money, as he is charged to by order from the Governor and not otherwise.

The garrison here has twice a year, to wit every six months, "good months," as they call them, but they change them into bad months, since most of the men pass them in debauch. Four, three, two or even only one month's pay is then issued to them, according as their current account stands in their favour or against them,

whereof a roll is made by the garrison bookkeeper and note taken of how much each has assigned to his relatives at home. On this roll entries are made of the issues and reduced payments to the end that our masters at home may be able to pay the sum assigned. This is the express order of their Honours given over and over again. However the debts of some of them owing at home to "soul-sellers" (*zielvercoopers\**), as they are called here, are so great, that, in order to pay these debts, no (217) pay or subsidy ought to be handed to them, but, this is impossible, if they are not to be driven to want or even insubordination, half pay therefore, or occasionally rather more, is issued to them. By this means I have several times cleared the garrison of debt, however it has got into debt again on the arrival of new people, especially soldiers, f9837. 4. 3 according to the balance of the last garrison books.

This interval of six months between payments appears to be somewhat too long for the needy soldiers, artisans, gunners and sailors, wherefore they have greatly importuned me to give them some assistance during the time between the two payments. This request it was sometimes impossible, by reason of their necessitous condition, to refuse. I should therefore advise your Honour, in order to be rid, as far as possible, of this vexation, to make issues of pay to the whole garrison four times, instead of twice a year. The married men of inferior rank, who have not assigned any of their pay to people at home, receive their pay monthly, half in cash and half in goods.

The head of the paymaster's office or else the garrison bookkeeper is also the administrator of the estates, of Company's servants who die here, in accordance with the charter granted by their High Mightinesses the States General to the Honourable Company in the year 1672, which runs as follows:

(218) The States General of the United Netherlands to all who shall see these presents or hear them read greeting. We make known that we have seen and read a certain petition presented to us by or on behalf of the honourable directors of the chartered East India Company of these lands praying for a grant of the right of appointment of administrators of the estates of their servants dying there without leaving children, widow or heirs in those parts. Which petition being noted and it being taken into account that the aforesaid practice has already been exercised [in India] with success for 50 years and more, therefore we, finding ourselves inclined to the petition of the aforesaid directors of the said East India Company, have granted and do grant to it, by these presents, power in India without distinction to appoint administrators of the estates of their servants dying there, if they leave in India aforesaid no children, widow or heirs, and provided

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\* Men who fit out seamen on credit at exorbitant prices.

that they themselves have appointed no one living in India aforesaid as executor of their testamentary disposition or administrator of their estate and goods. Therefore that said Company shall, once for all, have to command and charge their servants in India aforesaid, in such cases, always to choose one of the most capable, (219) satisfactory (*sufficamste* in Ms., but *suffisantste* in Plakaatboek) and trustworthy persons who can be found in the place where their aforesaid servant happens to die or this estate has to be administered. That further the aforesaid administrator shall be qualified and authorized to have the estate of the aforesaid servants of the aforesaid Company settled, to arrange his affairs, to institute, to watch over and to carry on, both as plaintiff and defendant, actions by or against the fiscal or other individuals and moreover generally to do everything the heirs, if present, could or would have power to do. That further the aforesaid administrators shall be bound to pay over to the said Company in India aforesaid, with all possible speed, the residue of said estate placed under their administration, so that the same may be remitted hither and, in course of time, handed over to the rightful heirs or those who may be entitled thereto.

That neither the aforesaid heirs nor anyone else, whoever he may be, anywhere not in India aforesaid, shall be allowed to dispute or oppose in any way, at law or otherwise, anything done or executed by the said administrators in India.

(220) That it shall nevertheless be open to the aforesaid heirs or other interested persons not living in India, when they learn of the death of one of the said Company's servants in India, whose heirs they are or claim to be or in whose estate they are otherwise interested, to commission and appoint a person to settle and administer the estate or inheritance of the aforesaid deceased in India, in so much and so far as it has not been already settled in India by the administrators aforesaid by order of the said Company.

And that, if the aforesaid person to be commissioned by the aforesaid heirs or other persons interested in the aforesaid estate presents himself in India to settle and administer the said estate, and, in fact, proceeds thither for that purpose, the function of the aforesaid administrator appointed by the said Company shall cease and determine, but, nevertheless, everything already done and executed by aforesaid administrator appointed by aforesaid Company shall remain in full force and validity.

That it shall further also be open to said heirs or other persons interested in the aforesaid estate to demand from the aforesaid administrators appointed by the said Company in India, or to have demanded by any whom they may decide to commission thereto in India aforesaid, (221) an account, documents and the residue of his administration and to require compensation for any

loss they may have suffered through his action and neglect. However, said heirs or others interested in the aforesaid estate may not demand, or cause to be demanded in any way, such account, documents and residue from said administrator on his coming here [to Holland] or elsewhere out of India.

And that the above injunctions may be fully observed and maintained, we summon and invite the States of the Provinces, i.e. Gelderland, and the county of Zutphen, Holland and Westvriesland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Vriesland, Overijssel and the town of Groeningen and surrounding districts, and further charge and command all admirals, colonels, lieutenants, vice-admirals, governors and commanders of towns and places, all masters of the horse and captains on sea and land, together with all officers, magistrates and inhabitants of the aforesaid United Netherlands to regulate their action accordingly without doing, or suffering to be done, anything contrary thereto, for we have deemed such regulations to be to the greatest service of the country and to the advancement of the well-being of its good inhabitants. Given under our paraph (*paraphure*) and signature at the Hague on the 26th Nov. 1671 and attested (*geparapheert*) G. Hoolck, below, by order of their High Mightinesses, the States General and signed Gaspar Fagel. At the foot: Compared and found to agree. Batavia, in the castle, 3rd Nov. 1672. Signed F. Reuvenkamp, E. Clercq.

(222) All testaments, codicils or other last wills of deceased are taken by the administrator to the Council, to be approved or rejected there according to circumstances, before he may have any payments made to the heirs and legatees. Moreover no closed credit accounts may be recorded in the current accounts of these people in order to make any payments thereon here, as on occasion has formerly happened in Holland (*Patria*), such having to be sent thither and consent obtained there for their payment. With reference to which and other matters relating to the duty and function of the chief of the pay office and the garrison bookkeeper for their information and action accordingly, the same are furnished with a written order from Batavia, as follows:

In order, as far as possible, to prevent improper disbursements of monthly pay to or for the Company's servants in these countries and the loss often suffered by said Company in consequence, it has been decided in the Council of India, after mature consideration on the matter, to make the orders which follow, to be obeyed and observed both here and throughout India.

Firstly, there shall not henceforth be entered or paid any closed accounts of persons who have assigned some months' pay to the homeland, whereon disbursements may have been made there, except only in the case of payment of the necessary funeral expenses of deceased persons. Similarly, no decrees (*appointementen*) or judgments (223) obtained against servants of the Company shall henceforth be paid here, in this country, unless authority has

been obtained from the Directors at home. Also no closed accounts shall be entered or paid, if the books containing them have gone to Holland (*na 't vaderlant*), except of those who have been free [of obligation] and have made no assignments of pay to Holland (*in 't vaderlant*).

Further, it is decreed that the accounts of those persons who have been lent to burghers or freemen shall, from the time of their being lent, be written off and stopped, until they once more enter into [the Company's] service. In order that it may always be possible to investigate and know where such people go, a separate memorandum book shall henceforth be kept of the same, to which their names shall be transferred without pay, with, in addition, the names of the persons to whom they have been lent and, if any of them returns to the Company's service, this also shall be entered in the same with a note where his account will be found in future. As to the others, who do not return to the Company's service within the year, the persons to whom said memo. book shall have been entrusted, must yearly, when the books are closed, apply to the persons into whose service such people have entered and ask for definite information whether they are still with them or not and, if not, if they have died or where they have gone, and must make clear notes in said memo. book from year to year for the use of those concerned.

The same course shall be pursued in the case of any imprisoned\* for any offence together with those who have only a debit account or happen, in some other way, to lose their account. (224) And as to the debit accounts each and every one whom it may concern is, by these presents, expressly warned to make no disbursements on the same, except only such as the persons are in absolute need of, on pain of the loss the Company suffers thereby being put to their charge. And the bookkeepers shall also be bound, so far as in them lies, to see to it that such persons may as soon as possible recover their forfeited accounts, whether by summoning them from the places where they have been or by sending the money thither, if it can be done without loss to the Company. In this case the debt payments may not be handed over to the debtors, in order that they may not retain the money and so make the confusion still greater; it must be sent to those to whom it is due, so that the balance may be charged therewith against their actual pay.

And, since some confusion is often apt to arise in the accounts of the crews, if ships are lost, therefore, in order, as far as possible, to prevent this, it is decided to command that henceforth, when any Company's ship is lost, a memorandum shall, on receipt of the news, be made from the muster-roll of the ship specifying the persons who

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\* *Inde Ketten gaan*, literally "go into chains."

Prisoners were allowed out in chain gangs.

were lost with the wreck or were saved; also to what ship the survivors have been transferred and lent, so that they may be traced.

To which end, in other places also whence ships are dispatched and mustered the (225) muster-rolls are to be taken ashore to the proper office and kept there, as is done here, so that, in the case of such accidents, they can be used. These books and memoranda shall be sent yearly to Holland (*na het vaderlant*) with the factory and pay-books for the use of those concerned.

Moreover in disbursements of pay to Company's servants who have bespoken or assigned some months' pay to Holland (*in 't vaderlant*) care must be taken that they retain at least as many months' pay as they have assigned elsewhere, so much the more because our Directors have frequently been under the necessity of making the payments themselves before the books arrived and it could be seen whether that amount remained on the credit side of the account or not.

Therefore the bookkeepers must also be warned\* if there is specie in what is left by the deceased, which is handed over to the Company, to pay it in, on the valuation ruling here, viz. 60 stivers to the real, but to note at the same time that the heirs at home (*in 't vaderlant*) can claim no more than reals of 50 stivers apiece, as is done there. Batavia in the Castle, 23rd May 1670, signed Joan Maatsuycker, N. Verburgh, L. Pith, P. A. Overwater, Pieter van Hoorn and Joan Riebeeck, Secretary.

Below: Compared and found to agree, Batavia in the Castle, 12th Feb. 1673 signed F. Reuvecamp.

(226) Monthly pay made over in Holland by Company's servants to their friends there, especially any allowance assigned to their wives, must not be cancelled here in the books under their account, for, when this was done here in the books of 1672 and 1673 at the request of one Michiel Bloxburgh, who had assigned four months' pay yearly to his wife, the Directors of the Hoorn Chamber wrote, with reference thereto, in a missive of Dec. 18th 1674 to their Honours at Batavia that they could not approve, since, according to a resolution of the Seventeen, they were bound, on presentation of their marriage certificates, to give vouchers to the women whose husbands had gone to India without assigning monthly pay to them and to make annual payments to them on these vouchers. Such cancellation was therefore also forbidden by their aforesaid Honours at Batavia, but I should consider it not unlawful, if these persons prove that their wives or friends are dead.

In addition to the care of the garrison books the chief of the pay office must also see to the yearly dispatch to Batavia of a list in due form of all the Company's higher officials stationed here in Malacca and dependencies.

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\* Or "have in mind." The original expression is *verdaght zijn*.



The Honourable Company carries on its trade here without giving credit, since it usually suffers loss thereby and our masters at home (*in 't patria*) have, under this head, some time past, made complaint in their letters to their Honours at Batavia in the following terms:

(227) We have heard with much vexation that some of our officers so rashly give credit for the goods of the Company. This must be forbidden to all on pain of heavy punishment, the Company's capital being too valuable to be parted with except on good security, wherefore the merchandise of the Company must not be sold and delivered except for ready money.

Your Honour will do well to conform to this good order of their Honours; you will, however, sometimes find that certain cloths and piece goods, as also other merchandise, if there is no demand for them, must be sold to satisfactory persons, either by public auction or privately, the day after a resolution to that effect has been passed in the Council, in order to dispose of them, since they would otherwise remain on our hands. This was done in my time, though very seldom, and payment was always made.

In the trade books here there is current still an old debt of /4135.15.1, of which the Company can expect no payment and, as to which, by order of their Honours in Batavia in 1673, the names and debts are entered in the books, enclosed within lines, merely as a record, as follows below:

Note. 1673 on the 18th of April the following outstanding bad debts are cancelled, by order of their Honours in Batavia, since there is not the least appearance of any part of them coming in and they (228) are brought within the line merely as a record, namely:

Jan Sau, a Chinese deceased here without any estate .. .. .	f 319. 7.12'
La Cotta de Musia do. ..	526.19. 6'
Thomas Ferera de Fonseca do. ..	146. 6. 2'
Don Pedro de Mendos do. ..	186. 3.
Nachoda Gantij deceased as above ..	7.13.
Abdul Waijet, king's weigher (weger) de- ceased as above .. .. .	38.17.12'
The king in Raccan— ( <i>is green bevragen</i> <i>a/</i> )* .. .. .	191. 2.
The Queda office, abandoned years ago, from which nothing is to be looked for .. .. .	180. 8. 6'

\* Perhaps this means that enquiries regarding this debt have led to no practical result.

Old unknown deceased persons at Oed- jang Salang . . . . .	/1300.17. 3
Omon Chieuw Packdie, regent at Bangarij (bandarij) . . . . .	240.11.
Mon Schieuw, late regent at same . . . . .	479. 8.
Met Schieuw Opra's mother . . . . .	31. 9.
Commelat . . . . .	199.15.
Mompert, alias Lele Moor . . . . .	286.17. 8
<hr/>	
The Oedjang Salang entered debts amount to . . . . .	2538.17.11
<hr/>	
Sum of bad debts	/4135.15. 1.

The king and nobles in Pera owe /130,606.12.4, the amount still remaining for them to pay of the 5,000 re<sup>s</sup>. [error for 50,000 (more precisely 44,000): see p. 257 of Ms.] imposed on them by contract in 1659 to pay on account of the despoiling of the Company's factory and murder of its servants in Pera, which took place there in 1651. Whenever they deliver tin to the Honourable Company for 31¼ re<sup>s</sup>. per bhaar, 1¼ re<sup>s</sup>. are written off this debt, but they seldom do this.

Similarly the king of Queda owes /55784.8.8 on account of money extorted for the release of the commissioner Joan Treuijtman and attendants whom he held prisoners in 1652.

(229) Also a sum of f4500 was issued last year to Opra Sinorat, chief of the Moors in Siam, for the use of his ship and people departed to Mocha, whereof a bond has been made for repayment to the Company by the nachoda of the ship, Miën Backer by name, on his return here in Malacca or by Sinorat himself in Siam. Similar accommodation has already been made several times on orders received from their Honours in Batavia in favour of the king of Siam and payment has always been promptly made. This your Honour will now be pleased to see to.

There are current still in the books /7814.15.10, the amount of the new expenditure in the recent Manicaber war, in order to have it met by the community by freewill offerings of moneys asked for by us from them. Up to the present, however only 578 re<sup>s</sup>. have been raised and handed to the lieutenant of the burghers, Sr. Jan Beeck, to pay for further expenditure which had to be made and is still necessary now and then on behalf of the burgher guard, especially the building of a spacious new guardhouse in the northern suburb on the seashore by the earthen wall there provided with palisades. For which purpose the money is not paid except with the knowledge and approval of the other burgher officers on an order signed by the Governor, and Sr. Beeck keeps a good account of it. It will be necessary to solicit similar freewill (230)

offerings annually and any considerable contributions must be paid into the Company's chest towards settling the aforesaid account of the cost of the recent war.

The merchandise and goods dealt in here by the Honourable Company alone are tin, pepper, opium, cloves, mace, nutmegs and resin; no one is allowed to buy these things from any but the Honourable Company itself, this being prohibited by various proclamations which must be maintained to the letter. For tin the Honourable Company pays here in Malacca 40 re<sup>s</sup>. and for pepper 12 the bhaer of 375 lbs to the purveyors thereof, but in the case of pepper  $\frac{1}{4}$  re<sup>s</sup>. is deducted and made good to the Company for dust and impurities. The Company does not allow the tin to be sold to any of the foreign merchants. It has to be sent in the Company's ships at the end of the year to the coast of India, viz. Cormandel, Bengale, Ceylon, Coutchin, Wingurla, Suratta and Persia, so apportioned as their Honours in Batavia happen to order. Any surplus is sent with the tin from Siam and Ligor to their Honours in Batavia for the use in whole or in part of the homeland. Pepper has so far been allowed to be sold to anyone at 18 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaer, if he exports it to Maccauw, the coast of China and Manilha, but not otherwise. On this condition cloves also may be sold at 150 re<sup>s</sup>. the picol, (231) but they must not be taken to the coast of India even if the buyer is willing to pay the ordinary price of 180 re<sup>s</sup>. the picol. There is no demand here for mace and nutmegs, nor is there any in opium, since the Javanese come here very little on account of the troubles in their country. In resin neither import nor demand is as great as was hoped for at the beginning; it is bought up and collected at 2 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaer of 375 lbs. by the Chinese captain Si Sia and he is reimbursed by the Honourable Company at an advance of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a re<sup>s</sup>. for his trouble and the storage of the same in his own warehouses. The Company transfers it to others, principally Portuguese and Moors proceeding to the coast of India, for 5 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaer, that is 100% profit. This is done on an order from the Governor, without which, and unless Si Sia proves that the money has been paid into the Company's chest, he may not deliver even the smallest amount to anyone. This resin used formerly to be produced in large quantities by the jungle of Malacca and the neighbouring places, but it has to come now mostly from Palimbangh, where it is bought on the spot for the Company and sent to Batavia, so that the import here is very small and what does come in is imported by the Company for its own use and paid for according to its value at 2,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaer.

Japanese finally refined bar copper comes here in such large quantities that, after the demand for the coast of (232) India is satisfied, there is a surplus to stock and send to Batavia. Permission has recently been given to sell some of it to the Portuguese and Moors, coming from the Manilhas and proceeding to Cormandel, Souratta or elsewhere, at 24 r<sup>a</sup>. of 8 in specie the picol of

125 lbs, since coinage in good estimation is usually demanded for the purchase of tin and their Honours in Batavia cannot provide us with as much as we need. For this reason copper was sold to persons of the nationalities named at aforesaid price in 1677 to their Honours' satisfaction and it should be possible every year, if the merchandise is reserved and kept for the Company only; at present everyone is at liberty to bring it here from Batavia and sell it to the Portuguese and Moors, who then go to them to buy and pass over the Honourable Company.

There is nowadays little or no demand for the Company's cloths and piece goods, so that recently we have not asked for any, since the Company's warehouses were well provided, as they still are. The cloths are all at fixed prices in agreement with those ruling in Batavia, as can be seen from the detailed list made of them.

(233) Price of the Chormandel, Bengal and Sourat cloths specified below, current on the 1st Aug. 1659, set by the late Governor, Joan Thijss: and the Council in Malacca.

Cormandel cloths

		Average cost	Present price	Advance %
Guinea cloths	.. ..	/129.15	ra. 80 or /240	/84
Red moories	.. ..	592.15	360 or 1,080	82
Bleached	.. ..	705. 3. 3	360 or 1,080	53
Samadra	.. ..	448.12. 4	[no figures given]	
Dungarees (dongrijs)	.. ..	200.15	120 or 360	79
Raw yarn	.. ..	38. 3	[no figures given]	
Negro's cloths	.. ..	185. 7. 9	96 or 288	55
Modophons				
leij de Coutchin	.. ..	996.16	480 or 1,440	44
Celas leij de				
Coutchin	.. ..	907. 8. 5	480 or 1,440	58
Sarassa leij de				
Coutchin	.. ..	686. 7	512 or 1,536	123
Wicker wandys	.. ..	440.17. 2	[no figures given]	
Papeles borre	.. ..	157.10	[no figures given]	
Tape ramrat	.. ..	1,145.18	[no figures given]	
Salalous	.. ..	/226.14.14	ra. 192 or /576	/154
Godschie giutchie	.. ..	501... 5	[no figures given]	
Bleached bethilles	.. ..	368.11. 9	200 or 600	62
Tape grandes	.. ..	383. 6.10	256 or 768	100
Brown blue bethilles	.. ..	352.10.13	220 or 660	87
Committers	.. ..	383.16. 2	320 or 960	150
Tape quitchils	.. ..	288.18. 6	192 or 576	99
Blue boelongs	.. ..	134.10	80 or 240	78
Drogams maleije			[no figures given]	
Tape Chindos from				
the coast	.. ..	240. 9	288 or 864	259
Caijm goelongs	.. ..	363. 1	256 or 768	111
Tape leij de Coutchin	.. ..	400.10	288 or 864	115

	Average cost	Present price	Advance %
Cormandel cloths			
Cotton stockings			
(linne coulsen) ..	233. 4. 2	125 or 375	60
Shirts .. ..	149. 9	93½ or 281.5	88
Tape Sarassas .. ..	355.17. 1	288 or 864	142
(234) Poelongh gobars	f384. 7	r <sup>n</sup> . 256 or f768	f 99
Red salampoeris ..	522.	320 or 960	83
Sarassa maleije .. ..	1,033.12. 6	640 or 1,920	85
Gordel chindos .. ..	375.14.11	288 or 864	129
Ramboutijns .. ..	376.10. 7	288 or 864	129
Brown blue cangans ..	583.13	304 or 912	69
Sailcloth .. ..	83.10	60 or 180	115
Gingans			
from the coast ..	340.18	240 or 720	111
Bleached salempoeries ..	325. 0. 4	176 or 528	62
Red Percallen .. ..	432. 8.14	384 or 1,152	166
Bleached .. ..	377. 6.15	384 or 1,152	205
Sarassa gobars .. ..	438. 4. 4	320 or 960	119
Petas maleije .. ..	1,190. 5. 9	[no figures given]	
Red bethilles .. ..	528. 8. 9	320 or 960	81
Raw bethilles .. ..	284. 7. 8	200 or 600	111
Bethilles d'oirnael ..	1,505.15	600 or 1,800	18
Chiavonijns	f333.10	[no figures given]	
Quilts (deeckens)		[no figures given]	
Bengal Piece Goods.			
Fotas or negro's cloth	f169.15. 9	r <sup>n</sup> .129 or f360	f114
Ouglijse [Hlooghly]			
gingams .. ..	352.10	240 or 720	121
Garras .. ..	174.	[no figures given]	
Bengal cassa .. ..	745. 6.14	400 or 1,200	60
Surat cloths			
Caricams .. ..	494.14. 5	300 or 900	81
White narrow baftas ..	794. 1 2	48 the corge	
		or 144	30
Red .. ..	565. 5.14	288 or 864	52
Black .. ..	303. 6.11	288 or 864	184
Black broad .. ..	311. 1. 4	256 or 768	146
Beeutas .. ..	408.12. 6	[no figures given]	
(235) Black			
baftas brootchia ..	1,535.15. 4	960 or 2,880	87
Red .. ..	1,719.14. 8	960 or 2,880	67
White .. ..	1,565.15. 5	960 or 2,880	83
Cannakijns	f437. 7. 4	r <sup>n</sup> .160 or f480	f 9
Narrow Surat chits			
[chintz] .. ..	434. 7. 1	192 or 576	32
Broad Surat .. ..	302.18. 8	192 or 576	90
Cotton (Gecalloeeneerde)			
coverlets .. ..	115.14.14	80 or 290	36
Silk Chindos .. ..	4,597.16.12	3,000 or 9,000	96

The kinds which are still to some extent in demand are mostly bleached Guinea cloth and brown blue salempoorees, the former sold at 80 re<sup>s</sup>. and the other at 50 re<sup>s</sup>. the corge or 20 pieces and also given in exchange at this price to the purveyors of tin and pepper, if payment is made half in cloth and half in cash; it is principally strangers, seldom the inhabitants, who are induced to agree to this, and, since at present little pepper is brought here, though it used to come in great quantities from Palimbangh, and the import of tin by strangers is also small, so that all transactions are carried out by payment from the Company's chest, this practice must be continued, in order to retain the money here in Malacca, because the small coinage is not exported, but the large coinage is, for the Portuguese, Moors and Chinese are eager to get it and give 10 to 15% on the exchange, as also for the real of 8 in specie. These coins are regarded as an article of merchandise for the Malays and are sent to their tin districts in payment for the mineral, as happens here also sometimes at a price of (236) 33, 34 or 35 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaar. Payment is made on the Governor's order by the chief trading merchant who has charge of the money.

No Moorish cloths may be exported from here to Jambij, Palimbangh or Batavia, nor may any passes be granted to our inhabitants or to strangers direct to Bantam. Our burghers are now forbidden to voyage to Palimbangh, nor is the export of opium allowed from here to Batavia, where it is bought by the Honourable Company itself. No voyage to Andragierj is permitted, because the Honourable Company has a factory there and would like to monopolize the trade of that place, especially in the gold found there, but this is prevented by the strangers from other parts.

Here in Malacca, on the seashore of both the northern and southern suburbs, gold was formerly sought and found in small nuggets and in dust of high alloy, but, after it was farmed out to the Gentoo goldsmiths who were more skilled therein, both shores yielded no more than 180 re<sup>s</sup>. a year and so had no money value and it was no longer farmed. Since then everyone has been at liberty to look and keep it for himself, which is still done; but mostly by poor folk, on the northern side, without, it is thought, anything of value being found. As to gold-seeking your Honour will get full information and a clear idea from the extract from our letter to their Honours, the supreme Government of India in Batavia, written on 24th March 1670, to the following purport:

(237) Touching the gold previously mentioned, about which our chiefs write, because some occurs in the neighbourhood of Malacca or comes thence, it will be necessary to make full enquiries as to that matter and to weigh well whether it might be worth the trouble and expense to have some further search made by experts, although it is well known that the same was undertaken long ago. Some dust and also small nuggets have sometimes been found by the farmers at the northern suburb of Malacca within range of the guns of

the fort along the shore [at a place] about 100 rods in length, where the muddy ground is rather stony and rocky and where there are orchards planted mostly with cocoanuts and pinang [areca palms]. The farmers at first paid 90 to 100 r<sup>n</sup>. a year to the Honourable Company for their rights, but at the last the payment was reduced to 50 r<sup>n</sup>., so that the farm was no longer worth anything. Gold digging at the southern suburb of Malacca along the shore, where it is all sandy and muddy, was carried out by a Gentoo goldsmith with our permission in 1660, but also came to nothing. Gold is, however, still searched for sometimes by poor folk on the shore at aforesaid northern suburb and occasionally found, though in very small quantity, mostly at low water after it has rained heavily for several days in succession. It has, for this reason, been supposed that the gold is forced out of the soil (238) down to the shore or from below to the surface, but hitherto no veins or mines of gold have been found here, in and round about Malacca. Should the same be revealed at some future time, we will be very careful of (*mesnageren*) the knowledge and send your Honours secret notice thereof. We shall then be able to judge whether it is worth while to incur some trouble and expense. We are at present unable to see that any advantage would be derived therefrom.

Malacca is visited by both Company's and native ships and vessels from the under mentioned places, viz.

To the Southward

From Batavia	Rio Formosa
Bantam	Paddangh
The whole of the Java coast	Moor [Moar]
Palimbangh	
Jambij	
Andragierij	

To the North-westward

From Pera
Queda
The island of Lada
Oedjangh Salang
Bangarij
Tannassarij
Arracan
Bengale
Cormandel
Ceylon
Coutchin
Goa
Suratta 2nd
Persia

(239) Further from the whole of the island of Sumarta on the east of Aatchin the furthest cape up to Bencalis, which lies immediately opposite to Malacca.

To the North-eastward (sic: *Om de Noort oost*).

Johor, destroyed in 1673 by the Jambinese

The islands of Boelongh and Bintangh

Pahangh, where the king of Johor now holds his court

Borneo and places situated on that island, such as:

} Banjermassingh and

} Succadana

Manilha

Patani

Ligoor

Siam

Cambodia

Quinam

Maccau

China and

Japan

This traffic of course occasions trade among the people in food, clothing and other necessities (*maintimentos*), but little in merchandise, since the Company's and most native ships come here only to provide themselves with necessities and then proceed to other places with their cargo (without unloading it here), except those whose custom it is (that is Company's ships) to bring to Malacca what is requisitioned, such as:

From Batavia: Cash, merchandise, provisions, equipment, artizan's tools and other necessities.

From Cormandel: A yacht's cargo of cloth to the amount of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons [150,000 guilders], for which purpose one yacht used to be reserved and was sent hither every year, (240) but latterly this has not been done, because (as was hereinbefore set out) we were, and still are, provided with a stock of cloth, for which there is no demand.

From Bengal: Rice, a little cloth, opium (*amphioen*), light cordage, sail thread and seine nets.

From Souratta: A little cloth, wheat and soap.

From Persia: Wines, rosewater, carpets (*alcatifs*) and fruit (*tafel fruiten*).

From Siam: Rice, cocoanut oil, woodwork, capock [tree-cotton], and some food.

From Japan: Porcelain and some food.

From all these places we have annually requisitioned what we lacked, which your Honour will be pleased to do also; above all to ask for slaves from elsewhere, for they are much needed here for the Honourable Company. We have written several times on this subject to Ceylon and recently to Coutchin also, but, so far, have received none.



The ships from Japan, which usually arrive here each year at the end of November or the beginning of December, must always be dispatched as quickly as possible to their destinations, the coast of India and Ceylon, together with, in addition, such ships as their Honours in Batavia are in the habit of ordering hither about that time and of attaching to them from the Straits here, so as to sail away in company with the Japanese ships and to divide among them the large capital these bring with them, consisting nowadays mostly of gold coubanghs [kobangs] and finely refined bar copper, further camphor, lacquer work, porcelain and some food.

(241) It seldom happens that a junk or other vessel from Japan or the China coast comes here. This year one from the former place did arrive, the nachoda of which hails from Quinam, whither he returned. The Chinese living here would be willing to send ships to Japan, as those at Batavia do, but hitherto this has not been allowed. The voyage to China, however, although not further than from Canton to Chincheeuw has been permitted. To the latter place the captain of the Chinese here sent a sloop last year and returned with more loss than profit, for the pepper taken there had to be sold dirt cheap, though it is now, no doubt, worth more at Canton, but the most advantageous cargo to bring back from there, viz. spelter is now at an uncommonly low price here. It was sold here a short time ago by the Portuguese coming with it from Maccauw at  $7\frac{1}{4}$  re<sup>n</sup>. the picol, which is  $\frac{2}{3}$  less than it used formerly to be worth.

The junks from Japan and China are not allowed to pass by Malacca [without calling], whereto your Honour will be pleased to attend as a matter of importance.

The traffic by the Portuguese and Moors from Porto Novo and other places on the Cormandel coast with Malacca for trade purposes has been suffered hitherto, because it is argued that, so long as we do not prevent their coming to places in our neighbourhood, it is better to permit them to enter our own harbours, so as not to lose the dues, as we should, if they were refused admission and (242) consequently frequented the places neighbouring on us so much the more and we should see that everywhere, both there and here, would be filled with Moorish cloth and should therefore be aware of no better or greater demand for Company's cloths, but probably of a decreased traffic with neighbouring peoples, who now come here to buy these Moorish cloths and thereby increase the trade and dues. If we refused to admit these traders, the others would, for the most part, stay away too and would go to the places where these Moors would then be, as, for instance, Queda, Atchin, Oedjangh Salangh and Tannassarij, whither the traffic of the people surrounding us, namely Malays and Javanese, is already far too great. They are chiefly attracted thither by the cheap cloth they can buy there, but, since everything must be ordered according to and brought into harmony with

present times, we must do, not what we wish, but what we can, taking into consideration that, even if we were to prevent the Moors from sailing to said places and several others, the Honourable Company would all the same not attain its object, since the English, Portuguese, French and Danes, principally the first named, would in time of peace frequent the said places so much the more, whereas, since the Moors are there, they mostly stay away, knowing that, as regards the trade in cloth in competition with them, they, like (243) ourselves, have no chance. This has been clearly proved at Aatchin to the English, who stopped their trade in that place so long as we allowed the Moors to traffic there, but, as soon as we kept the Moors away, they came (according to their old usage) to fish in our troubled waters, insisting on admission yonder, although we maintained a blockade of the harbour and, failing in that, contrived by protests against loss and injury done to them, to make capital and get profit out of it in England. This blockade was kept up at Aatchin in 1656, 1657, 1658, and 1659 and reduced that kingdom to such straits for cloth that much gold was sent secretly to Malacca and spent there on cloth; attempts were even made to buy it on our ships, 160 re<sup>s</sup>. being paid for a bale of Company's common Guinea cloth. Wherefore the commanders of the blockading force were moved to demand a good quantity of cloth from Malacca, but it was decided not to send it on the ground that we were at war with Aatchin and that no traffic is permissible with an enemy.

Although the real aim of the blockade was to compel Aatchin, by depriving it of the extensive importation of Moorish cloths, to buy from the Honourable Company, nevertheless in 1660 the traffic of the Moors in Aatchin was once more allowed and the place became after the old fashion so full of cloth (244) that one has seen a bale of Guinea cloth as good as the Company's sold for 48-50 re<sup>s</sup>. and even taken to Malacca, where it usually yields 80 re<sup>s</sup>.

Whereby it also happens that the Moors, being prevented by us from trafficking, they load the ships of said European nation or take some members of that nation into service on their own ships and fly their flag, these men then proclaim themselves the owners of the ship and of the whole cargo, a trick they have made trial of several times before Queda. Against this device there is as yet nothing else to be done than to follow the latest order of their Honours in Batavia given in their letter of 19th Oct. of last year, reading as follows:

But if Moorish ships from Suratta or elsewhere should come to the places where tin is to be had without certificates from the Honourable Company and flying the English flag and with some men of that nation in the crew, so that these may affirm that they are the owners of the said ships and of the cargoes, our blockading forces round about these places must bear themselves with all discretion, as our previous orders ordain, so that no trouble may

be made thereby for our Government in Europe, as would happen, if they acted otherwise, which action we have to avoid here at least as carefully now as at any time.

(245) The traffic of private individuals not in the service of the English Company, as also of the Moors, from Suratta to Siam by way of this place has greatly increased during the last few years. They call here usually with their ships and, if they can sell anything, do so, the sales consisting chiefly of wheat, a little cloth and calico. This has hitherto been allowed, provided the customary dues are paid, that is 5% of the wheat and 10% of the other goods. These English at Cormandel voyage also thence to Siam especially, calling here also *en passant*. They are now beginning to bring rice thence to sell here, which is much to our advantage, so long as it is not being imported from Java.

As was touched on above, the merchandise of the Honourable Company, the purchase of which is made here, consists mostly of tin which is found in certain places to the North of Malacca, viz.:

Songhoedjongh	}	belonging to Johor
Calangh		
Pera	}	subject to the kingdom of Aatchin rebellious vassal of Siam
Queda		
Trangh	}	under Siam
Oedjan Salangh		
Bangarij		

In addition new tin mines were discovered four years ago on the east coast of Sumatra, a free people subject to no man's overlordship being masters of them. The way to them is, along the river Siaka. The heads of these tin mines, who are Malays, first came before us here in Malacca in 1676 and voluntarily bound themselves in writing (in their own hand and by their own (246) wish) to consign all the tin found in their homes, called Cotta Rana, Cabon and Gittij wholly to the Honourable Company either in Malacca or on the river Siaka, at the price of 40 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaer of 375 lbs. They also promised to induce their neighbours, the chiefs of Tonda, with their dependencies to do the same. A good beginning was made at first of the delivery of this tin, and it still continues, but not in such quantity as formerly, partly because, the people there being at strife with each other, there is not so much of the mineral mined, and partly because the Johor shahbandar, stationed at the mouth of the river Siaka as officer over the Malays living there, does his best to detain the tin coming down and to compel the people to sell it to him. It is then exported to Riouw on the island of Bintangh (where the Johor Laksamana has his abode). This detention of the tin must not be suffered by your Honour, if the people wish to deliver it to the Company; you must compel said shahbandar to release the same. He did so on one occasion on the demand of our envoys sent thither. It is thought that when the people in these places live in peace and quiet, it ought to be possible to get from these tin mines 400 bhaers a year,

which the Honourable Company ought not to allow to be filched from it; all the more since the owners thereof had recourse to us here in Malacca and got from us men expert in the mining and smelting of tin. This was also one of the motives (247) for their preferring the Honourable Company in this transaction to others; also at their request they were provided by us with a Company's flag (*princerlag*) for their use.

The people of Pera and Queda have undertaken to deliver a half, and the people of Bangarij the whole of the tin found in their land to the Honourable Company, but at Oedjang Salangh I find that no preference over others has been granted to us. The contracts made with the kings, princes and regents of the places named have seldom been carried out by them and some are somewhat antiquated and now no longer in use according to their contents, since the Honourable Company has been compelled by violence and damage suffered there to abandon the factories it had in those places and to retain only a blockading force before Pera and a residence on the neighbouring island of Dindingh, whereby the Honourable Company gets the benefit of the latest made contract and draws about 1,200 bhaers of tin yearly thence, since Aatchin now demands little tin yonder.

Queda furnishes nowadays more of that mineral than formerly, production being increased to about 1,000 bhaers annually traded to the English and Moors there and what is found in Trangh is taken to Queda.

Oedjangh Salangh and Bangarij are very rich in tin, but it is now exported principally to Tannassarij, which is much frequented by the Moors. These then are the tin districts in which the Honourable Company has trading privileges according to the contracts given below:

#### Contract with Queda.

Agreement and contract made by Jan Hermansz., chief merchant and director of these tin (248) districts, on behalf of the Directorate of the Dutch East India Company in the kingdom of Queda, on the authority of the honourable Heer Anthonio van Dienen [Diemen], Governor General of the Orient together with the honourable Heer Joan van Twist, Governor and Director of the town and fort of Malacca, given in his honourable letter to His Majesty dated 18th June 1642 empowering us thereto, of the one part and His Highness, the king of Queda, Boule Lada and several other lordships of the other part to be for ever and inviolable, this 15th [? 11th] July 1642 in Queda.

Firstly, the king shall allow the just half of all tin found in Queda (or coming into Queda from abroad) to be consigned to the Dutch East India Company or the servants of the same and that at 7 taels 13 maces per bhaer, each tael reckoned as 4r<sup>a</sup>. and the mace as  $\frac{1}{4}$ r<sup>a</sup>., said taels and maces together making 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ r<sup>a</sup>. in inferior Queda coinage. The people, however, who bring the tin for sale to

the Dutch are offered their choice of demanding cloth at a reasonable price or said Queda coinage without making other evasions as to Spanish r<sup>a</sup>. or any other claims.

Further, the king shall not have it in his power to export any tin in his own yachts, praos or otherwise (much less in those of any other nation), before the chief merchant or other Company's servant appointed to this office has gone on board with an agent of the king and has weighed the quantity (249) and taken it in full to the suburb Poupen. Said Company's ships or yachts and other vessels before they take any tin away from here are equally subject to this condition. The above named agents appointed to this office shall, as soon as the yachts, ships or praos have gone down stream and they have come up, go to the king or Orang Kaya Besaar at the first opportunity, each with his memorandum, having previously kept a running account of the export, (*alvoren bijzonder een contraboek van 't uijtgevoerde continuelijck te samen welhouden*) and report the amount of the tin exported to the king or orang kaya, so that, if it is found that more has been exported or assigned to the king, or to the king's order or otherwise, than to the Dutch, the king shall be bound, within 5 or 6 days, to deliver the amount of the shortage in our warehouses or in the tin exported, for the price and on the condition stated above.

The king shall have the right to give permission for ships from Bengal, Souratta and other places, if they produce passes from the chiefs of the Dutch Company's servants of those places, to trade in Queda, but, if their pass is held on condition that they first touch at Malacca and they have not yet been there but call here first, in that case the merchant of the Dutch Company, with an agent of the king commissioned by said king and the Governor General shall refuse them entrance to the river and shall direct them to Malacca to ask for a pass from the governor there; then further, on their (250) return and the production of the same, shall grant them leave to trade and not otherwise. For which examination of passes credit (*geloof*)\* shall be given to the merchant of said above named Company. Signed Jan Harmensz; [Hermansen] In the margin: After comparison with the original, which the king has had written in Malay and confirmed with his usual mark, this is found to agree. Dated as above, signed Jan Harmansz. [Hermansen].

#### Contract with Oedjangh Salang.

Agreement or contract between the honourable Anthonio van Diemen, Governor General of the State of the United Netherlands in the East Indies, of the one part and Ouboaang In Sachon Cierij Joan Phalowan, governor of the island Oedjangh Salang of the other part, made with the said Phalowan by order of the Honourable Jeremias van Vliet, governor of the town and fort of Malacca

\*This may be for *verloof*, "leave, permission," to examine the passes.

with the dependencies thereof, by us, Jan Hermansz., chief merchant and head of these tin districts. Which contract shall be inviolable and binding, reservation being made of the claims on account of the great massacre of Dutchmen carried out and committed by the predecessor of the honourable Phalowan.

Firstly, the governor of Oedjangh Salangh shall be bound to allow a perfectly free sale of the merchandise brought here by the Dutch, no matter (251) where it comes from or of what it consists, without his Honour's selecting the best, imposing dues, obstructing the sale or burdening it with monopolies (as has happened in the past), and shall permit the purchase and resale of tin and other native merchandise.

The merchants and common folk shall not be removed from the Company's houses by open or secret means and proclamations (as has been customary in the past), on the contrary, if the Company's residents meet with any injustice (which God forbid), they are to have a helping hand offered to them, for the preservation of the Company's property, by the governor or, in his absence, by the nearest councillor, without burdening them with exorbitant customs, but always holding them in due esteem, and giving help with all speed on all reasonable demands.

The governor aforesaid shall have a proclamation made to the natives and inhabitants, whatever their nationality, who trade with the Company's residents (since great frauds have been committed in the forms of the tin and the regulations have not been observed), that the tin shall henceforth be delivered to the Company's servants stationed here and weighed with the balance and appointed weights ordered by the governor aforesaid, in the presence of the Comolaet and other orang Kayas, stamped with his honourable siap, so that all fraud and disputes, which would otherwise result, may be prevented as far as possible.

(252) These regulations being made, the captain and head of these Dutch tin factories, in response to the urgent demand of the governor and chief nobles, has set a definite price on the different kinds of cloth, as stands herewith, according to which the governor and his subjects, together with the Company's resident shall regulate their action, as may be seen below, viz.:

A Sarassa leij de Coutchini at 7 *bits* to the king and 9 to the common people; a sallempeories 7, 9; a piece of Guinea cloth 12, 16; a piece of blue bethilles 6½, 8; a piece of ramboutijns 15, 18; a piece of ardias 3½, 4½; a bafftas 4, 5; a piece of white bethilles 8, 10; a piece of madaphon 4, 5; a cain goelough 4, 5; a piece of red bethilles 8, 11; a piece of white mouris 6½, 8½; a piece of sail-cloth 2½, 3; a piece of negro cloth 3, 4; and a Sarassa maleije 11, 13, one *bits* being counted as 17 stivers, it being understood that the king's share is not to amount to more than 9-10 bhaers of tin with each ship's arrival, wherewith he must be content.

If any of the Company's servants or subjects (which God forbid) shall so offend against the governor or the nobles of this government that his act deserves exemplary punishment, the governor shall nevertheless not have power to inflict the same, but shall deliver the delinquent with the evidence into the hands of the Company's resident and, if the resident is himself implicated, shall report it in a memorial, at the first arrival of our ships, so that the governor of Malacca may then order him to be punished as the case demands (253) or to be taken to the fort and handed over to justice.

The governor shall not be allowed to give leave to trade to any merchants from Queda, Perach, Java, Cormandel, Bengale or other adjacent places, unless they have first shown their permits to the Company's resident here, have called at Malacca, paid their dues there and obtained free conduct and that in accordance with old Malacca right.

In conclusion, the governor promises herewith to observe the rules touched on above to the full, according to their intent and to cause them to be observed. Which provisional contract is confirmed and ratified on both sides in witness to its truth, in the presence of the Comolaet, Omonrath and several other orang kayas with their usual signature on the 18th March 1643, signed Jan Harmansz. together with the governor's ordinary mark on the siap.

#### Contract with Bangarij.

I. Omoehangh Scheij Boerij Sysa Con Schauw Moehangh in Bangarij, have agreed the articles here following with the chief merchant, Davidt Walravens sent by order of the honourable Governor General, Anthonio van Diemen and the honourable Jeremias van Vliet, governor in the town of Malacca, to inspect the tin districts and the factories situated there, to wit:

(254) Firstly, I, Omoehangh Scheij Boerij Sasakon promise to deliver annually to the resident stationed here in the interest of the Dutch East India Company and to him only all the tin found and mined here.

Secondly, if vessels from foreign parts arrive here, I promise to acquaint the resident of the same and to forbid my inhabitants (as also merchants living here) to buy any cloth from these ships and, if they [the ships] have brought any necessities (*mainctimentos*) and sold the same, accepting tin in exchange for them, they shall be bound to deliver said tin to the Company on condition that they are paid for it at the price current in the country with cloth or money which may happen to be at the time in the Company's factory.

Thirdly, no inhabitants of this place shall be allowed to export tin from here under any pretext whatsoever, on the following penalty: for the first offence forfeiture of half of the tin; for the second, forfeiture of all the tin; and for the third, forfeiture of the

tin, the prao and all the offender's goods and the reduction to slavery of the offender himself; this confiscation to be one half for the king and the other half for the Company.

Fourthly, I promise to assist the Company's people at all times, (*'t sij int goede ofte guade [mouson]*) and in all things; to procure workers for them at a reasonable wage to transport tin or cloth.

Fifthly, I promise to conform within my realm to the large tin mould of Oedjangh Salang on the arrival of the first cargo of cloth here.

(255) Sixthly, I shall enjoin and command that all merchants and inhabitants, who buy any cloth from the resident here, shall pay for it at the actual time of the purchase without any attempt at evasion and, if the resident makes a complaint to me thereanent, I shall compell the satisfaction of the Company's claim by law.

Seventhly, I will protect and defend (*bevrjaen*) the Company's servants stationed here and the factory, as if it were my own house, against all who might try to bring any trouble on the same.

Eighthly, if it should happen (which God forbid) that any Dutch stationed here should transgress by the murder or wounding of any or by rape or robbery, I shall not have the power to execute justice on the same, but must wait for the superintendent's annual coming and deliver the criminal into his hands.

All the above articles I have agreed with my Council of my own free will, without being constrained thereto in any wise and promise to carry them out and adhere to them in all points, in witness whereof I have marked the same with my own mark. 1st Jan. 1645 in the Negrij Concloej in Bangarij.

#### Contract with Aatchin and Pera.

In the year after the birth of our prophet Mahomet 1070, on the day Salassa [Tuesday], the 6th of the month Maharam [Sept. 23. 1659] the Capade moeda lilla attended by the boedjanghs Cay allula and dendany brought out the (256) suassa seal and, in the name of God on command from Her Majesty, comes with an order from Her Majesty to calij malical adul, orang kaya maradja Siri maradja, orang kaya laxamana Sirij pardana mantri, orang cacaya Sierij paducca tuan orangh cacaya radja bintang, orangh cacaya Sirij paducca magat orangh cacaya Sirij maradja lilla, orangh caija radja oedana lilla orangh caija paducca Sirij nara, orangh caija maradja Sirij indra orang caija radja macotta, orangh caija Sirij paducca radja bintang moeda, radja lilla wanghsa, paducca maha mantri, Sirij ratna pardana, with all the oelebalanghs and all other officers of the royal court. I have made this peace between the Atchinese and the Dutch, so as not again in the future to come to strife. Thus the Governor



General, Joan Maatsuijcker, has, through Sittria Sibidi, Indra Sittia, Sirij Nara Wanghsa, the commander Jacob Keyser and the commander, Balthasar Bort made the following demands:

Touching the affairs of Pera, if the bandara Paducca Sirij maradja be not recalled but is forgiven by Her Majesty for all his faults and allowed to remain bandara in Pera, then the commanders Jacob Keyser and Balthasar Bort will also petition the Governor General to forgive his offences and to permit him to continue there in Pera, but the shahbandar (being now mentri in Pera) shall be summoned to Aatchin (257) and handed over to us to be judged.

Her Majesty also grants 50 bhars of tin in compensation for the goods of the Company stolen in Pera, which the commander Balthasar Bort shall receive there; also that the price of tin in Pera shall not be higher than 30 <sup>r<sup>a</sup></sup>. until the goods of the Company, amounting still to 44,000 <sup>r<sup>a</sup></sup>., shall be paid for. When all this debt is cleared, the price shall once more be set at what it was formerly, viz. 31¼ <sup>r<sup>a</sup></sup>. Moreover no other traders shall come to Pera to deal in tin, but all traffic therein shall be divided between the Aatchinese and the Dutch, each taking just half. If any vessel is dispatched with tin, whether by Aatchinese or Dutch, an Aatchinese and a Dutchman shall always examine it, so that on neither side too much or too little, but by each just the half, is exported.

As to dues the right shall remain such as has been customary hitherto without change.

All of this Her Majesty agrees to in its entirety according to the Governor General's demands.

Further, concerning the affairs of the west coast, Her Majesty, on the demand of the [Governor] General, agrees that at Priaman, Bandaer Galipha that is Tico and Sillida, all the property of the Honourable Company seized at the three above named places shall be restored to the commander, Jacob Keyser, and, as to whatever is short of the 49,518¼ <sup>r<sup>a</sup></sup>., Her Majesty agrees that pepper bought there (258) from the community shall be paid for at 1 <sup>r<sup>a</sup></sup>. less the bhaer until the Company has recovered its property aforesaid, when this practice shall cease.

On the request of the [Governor] General, Joan Maatsuyker, to Her Majesty, it is also agreed that no foreign merchants shall trade at aforesaid places except Aatchinese and Dutch only and, if any foreign merchants should happen to come to aforesaid places to trade, the Company shall have the right to remove them thence, either amicably or by force, whereby the peace with Aatchin shall not be broken in the smallest degree.

Demand is also made that 1,200 bhaers of pepper yearly shall be duty free for all time, which we grant also, as was granted in the year 1048. Likewise that riksdollars (*rijxdaalders*), in a case of lack of Spanish <sup>r<sup>a</sup></sup>., shall, as far as possible, be accepted, provided that the same are good and not alloyed with copper, this demand

we accede to. Also that a dwelling house may be erected in Aatchin on the ground the commander Dirck Schou [ten ?] formerly demanded in the year 1066, as also [one] in the country of Pera close to the river bank.

Also if the Dutch in Pera, Tico, Priaman and Sillida happen to come to blows with the inhabitants over some dispute, the Sultan[s] and the Panglimas on the west coast shall have power to settle it, if the offence is small, but, if (259) the matter is too difficult, they have not the right to exercise jurisdiction, but must arrest the ill-doers and send them to Aatchin, where Her Majesty shall judge the same equitably; the Dutch, however, they shall send to Malacca or else Batavia to be punished there by the [Governor] General according to their deserts.

All foreign merchants from the west, viz. from Suratta, Dabul, Masulipatnam, Jaffanapatnam, Carapatam, Bengale, Clings, English, Danes from the Maldives, Mallebaer, Conanoor, Arracan and Pegu shall be allowed to trade here in Aatchin. All merchants from the east, viz. those from Johor, Patanij, Andragierij, Jambij, Javanese, Siamese, Cambodians and Macassars shall not be allowed to trade in any of the above named places, but only here in Aatchin.

All which articles of agreement have been confirmed on the day Allahat [Sunday], the 10th of the month Maharam at Her Majesty's banquet (*gastmael*) in the presence of the commanders, Jacob Keijser and Balthasar Bort, also the English captain, William Courtis, with all joy and gladness in Her Majesty's garden, called Lalla Lalleij. Herewith, therefore, all above articles are settled irrevocably, and shall endure as long as the world, now the Dutch have come to a settlement as far as Her Majesty, Lilla Lahij Filalham is concerned and the English also, amen.

Finding, among other things in the above treaty, that the Chinese were named among other peoples who must not voyage except to (260) Aatchin and that this had been inserted without our having been even consulted or having heard of it, we declared that the Honourable Company did not and never will allow the Chinese from China to voyage direct to Aatchin. When we pointed this out, the radja and the interpreter, Abdul Latief said this was well known to the officers of state, since no vessel had ever come here from China, therefore only those Chinese were meant who live in Batavia, Malacca, Johor and Patanij. On this condition we then agreed to accept said treaty.

Contract with the places, Cotta Rana, Cabon and Gittij.

Within the town and fort of Malacca on the 11th Jan. 1676 in the shahbandar's house, we, orang caija radja Lella, orang caija Sultan Bagagar and orangh caija Magat maradj, all chiefs of the places Cotta Rana, Cabon and Gittij situated on the east coast of Sumatra, have made this contract following with the honour-

able Governor, Balthasar Bort, Councillor Extraordinary of India and governor and director of the town and fort of Malacca, and his Honour's Council that all the tin which is found in Cotta [Rana], Cobon [Cabon] and Gittij shall be sold and delivered at 40 re<sup>s</sup>. (261) per bhaer solely to the Dutch East India Company at Malacca or to persons coming to Siaka on their behalf and to no others, because we have already acquired so much honour and favour in the delivery of the tin first mined by us.

We will also try to induce the chiefs of Tandon with its dependencies to conform to this same contract and will not omit to make known there our good reception. In order that no fraud [be perpetrated] in the transport of the tin, so that it may be delivered wholly to the Company, and that none of it can or shall be sold to others on the road, we shall send with all the vessels having tin in their cargo a memorandum of the quantity they carry of the same to the shahbandar of Malacca, who shall send us a receipt in return. We will punish according to the fault committed those who sell the tin to others and do not take it to Malacca.

It is also granted to us that our vessels shall have the right to sail from and to Malacca with a flag of the Honourable Company and that twice a year, when coming with tin belonging to our chiefs, they shall be excused from all dues.

In witness of this, the Governor and all of us, the chiefs, have signed this contract [in duplicate], whereof the one signed by us remains here in Malacca and the other we shall take with us to our own country.

Malacca, the 25th of the month Saual, 1670 [?1086], being in our reckoning of time the 14th [?12th] Jan. 1676.

(262) Up to the present no contracts have been entered into with the people of Songhoedjongh and Calangh aforesaid. These two places produce yearly about 400 bhaers, whereof Malacca gets a very small share, since most of it is taken to Aatchin and Ben-calish, also to Pahangh and Riouw. The last is now beginning to come to an end, the people there [i.e. in Sungai Ujong and Kēlang] being Manicabers who, since the conquest of Johor by the Jam-binese and the flight of the king thence to Pahang, have not rendered their due obedience to that Kingdom and do so still less now, being suspected to siding with the rebellious people of Nanning and Rombouw. The tin comes from Songhoedjongh by the Pannage, but its transport is being prevented at present by our blockade. It ought to be possible in this way to prevent the transport from Calangh also, if we could come to an agreement with the king of Johor on this matter.

Their honours would be glad to see the trade in tin set going once more for the Honourable Company at Oedjangh Salangh and Bangarij, it is not however to be done by maintaining a blockade  
1927] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

there, but by an annual dispatch of ships thither or by establishing factories there, whereof your honour should be able to make proof sometime when a good opportunity offers.

The Company here has not yet been able to settle its differences with the Radja of Queda, since he will not send plenipotentiaries either hither or to Batavia to settle (*definieren*) the matter, (263) as we have always insisted. It should nevertheless be possible, in my opinion, to conclude a peace and trading contract with him soon, if the Honourable Company were to write off the money it claims on good grounds from him.

The Pera people treat us very fairly, but the blockade there must not be given up or the Honourable Company will once more be deprived of tin. Our people there regulate their action by the following memorandum:

Order for the Superintendent (*opperhoofd*) and the council in Pera, according to which they shall act in the service of the Dutch East India Company in the administration of the trade and the carrying on of the blockade there.

From the year 1639 the Honourable Company traded peaceably in Pera by virtue of the contract made with Aatchin, the suzerain of Pera, sometimes on land and sometimes at the mouth of the river, according as was judged best for the getting of the largest quantity of tin, until in 1651 the factory was overpowered by the people of Pera and the Company's residents murdered. Thereupon we were involved in war with them but in 1655 after a reconciliation the factory was reestablished.

Shortly after, however, by reason of the (264) failure of the people of Pera to maintain our agents in their rights, it was again abandoned and we continued at war with them till 1659, when a contract was once more entered into with Aatchin of the nature shown by the copies [given] and thereupon residence was taken up again in Pera, but from time to time we had plain evidence that the Aatchinese were depriving us more and more of the tin, paying no heed to the conditions agreed on, so it was again given up in 1663 by orders received from Batavia. From that time onward we have maintained our rights secured by the most recent contract aforesaid at the mouth of the Pera river and have dealt with the people of Pera according to the same, as beseems traders in all friendly sincerity. This is still done and should be continued until further orders, notwithstanding that the expenses are thereby somewhat greater than they were when we held with 10 to 12 men, the residency up river in Pera, for, in compensation, the tin is now brought to us in greater quantity and thereby the unavoidable expenditure is made in some measure more tolerable. By this manner of trade, to which the people of Pera are accustomed, there have been established and given on various matters, both in order to bring about an increase in trade and to obviate all hindrances and also to enable our people to live in peace and

security, various well devised orders in successive letters written to our people before Pera. Blunders might easily be made in carrying out these orders, since they are scattered far and wide and can consequently be found, when (265) necessary, only with difficulty and loss of time, we have therefore collected all said orders together and made a résumé of them arranging them according to their character, as under. All which must be observed and conformed to in future as a general fixed order, so long as no other orders are given.

Formerly, in accordance with the aforementioned latest contract,  $31\frac{1}{4}$  r<sup>a</sup>. were paid in Pera for the bhaer of tin, whereof 30 r<sup>a</sup>. were given to the owners and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  r<sup>a</sup>. were written off the debt of the king and nobles of the land to the Honourable Company. Afterwards, so as to secure a great quantity of tin, permission was given to pay 35 r<sup>a</sup>. per bhaer in piece goods or cash to the people of Pera bringing tin down the river for sale to the Company. Good quality must be offered at this price, otherwise a bargain must be made for less. Payment in piece goods rather than cash should always be preferred.

No hindrance must be put in the way of vessels laden with tin which come down the river on their way to Malacca, on the contrary they must actually be counselled and encouraged thereto, so as to increase the traffic with Malacca, and they must be promised in addition a good reception there. In accordance with ordinary custom, of the amount of tin each ship contains so much *pro rato* [sic] must be (266) unloaded from it as shall be judged likely to deprive them of a reason for visiting any other places and to cause them to sail straight to Malacca, where the tin unloaded shall be paid for at 40 reals the bhaer, on presentation of the orders signed by the Superintendent (*opperhoofd*), and given to the owners. Moreover it must be definitely stated on the passes how much tin there still remains on each ship, a careful examination being made in friendly wise for this purpose, so that the whole amount may be demanded for the Honourable Company and each may be deprived of the chance of allowing private persons to have any share of it.

2 If the king and the most powerful nobles, when sending some vessel to Malacca, wish to leave all the tin in its cargo in Pera, you may agree to this and give an assignment (*assignatie*) for it, so that payment may be secured in Malacca.

But no assignment may be given for demand of payment in Malacca to anyone, of whatsoever rank or condition he be, for tin that has not been received, but only (267) for the quantity which has been previously delivered for the Company.

Also we expressly forbid under a heavy penalty the passing of any such assignments to fictitious names for tin traded for by you yourself in Pera for cash or piece goods at 30 to 35 r<sup>a</sup>. the

bhaer, so as to get the Malacca price for it and so to trade with the Company's money and cotton as an individual for one's own benefit.

Vessels going to and belonging to Aatchin or any places under its suzerainty, such as Assahan, Tanjongh, etc. must have half their cargo of tin taken out, but not so (exactly) that you come to blows over two or three bhaers and it must be paid for at 30 r<sup>n</sup>. the bhaer in cash (*contant*). If the owners can be persuaded to deliver the whole amount to the Honourable Company, one half can be paid to them in cloth goods and the other in cash (*contant*) at 35 r<sup>n</sup>. the bhaer.

The tin traded for at 30 r<sup>n</sup>. you must (268) enter separately, both in the invoice book and in your trade books, so as to credit the account of the king and nobles of Pera, which still stands at f130606.12.4 on the debit side in the trade books here in Malacca, with 1¼ reals for each bhaer.

But discretion must be shown in dealing with the tin exported from Pera actually for the queen of Aatchin and only a part of it taken out after a suitable agreement has been come to with her ministers, for it is said that only 40 bhaers yearly ought to belong to Her Majesty from the country of Pera as an acknowledgment of her suzerainty. The quantity in one year does not usually amount to more; if the rulers of Pera make an earnest petition on this matter, it may be allowed to pass without anything being taken from the ship, so that we may not make ourselves hated.

No vessels belonging to foreign nations, not dependencies of Aatchin, may export tin to Aatchin, but must deliver it all to the Honourable Company at 30 r<sup>n</sup>. the bhaer and must submit to examination for that purpose. The same holds good of persons wishing to voyage from Pera to Queda or Bencalis, they also must deliver all their tin to the Honourable Company (269) at 30 reals the bhaer. However, if the payment is in piece goods, the tin from these vessels may be paid for at 35 r<sup>n</sup>., so as to get more custom for the cloth; whereto all diligence must be applied.

You may give passes to all such vessels as have satisfied the Honourable Company's claim to the tin (as aforesaid), but the people of Pera must, before their passes are put at their disposal, give proof with the siap of the dato bandhara that they are honest folk and not fugitives. The Javanese and other vessels coming merely to trade in Pera provided with passes from Malacca must not have their passes taken away from them, but only endorsed as having been produced and (270) the holders must then return hither, no other passes must be given to them by you.

As to all vessels of Aatchin or of peoples subject to that kingdom, although they are provided with no pass, you must not put the least obstacle in the way of their voyage up the river, but, after speaking (*verspreken*) the people, enquiring about their cargo;

you must use them courteously and let them at once proceed unmolested.

The Moorish ships which we may on occasion allow to go (*largeeren*) to Pera for the purpose of buying elephants and exporting them to Bengale or Cormandel, as we did last year in the case of the yacht Chaffarie of the Nabob Mamet Aminchan, are bound to pay the Company's dues, 10% of the elephants purchased, just as if said animals were brought here and then exported; they are bound also to deliver all their tin to the Honourable Company. Hereto you must give careful heed, assessing the cost of the elephants here and demanding the dues, taking over all the tin (without releasing any), granting passes (*passerende*) and (271) putting at the disposal of the owners of the mineral an assignment to enable them to demand payment for it at 40 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaer of 375 lbs., either here in Malacca, or in Bengal or Cormandel, also writing with each ship to the Company's servants in the places, which are its destination, a short note giving the number of the exported elephants, their cost and the dues paid thereon, together with the quantity of tin delivered.

But you shall not allow other ships and vessels, having no passes issued by us, in Pera, but shall direct them to Malacca to ask for passes and you are authorized to take some goods from Malay or Javanese vessels, which have cargoes of consequence, to be held in pawn as security, in this way hindering them from going to other places, especially if they have come from the North and have passed by Malacca without calling there.

The people of Queda itself must be refused entrance to Pera, even if they have a pass from our blockading force there, this pass you have to take away and send to us, allowing within the blockade only such natives of that state with their passes issued by us (*met d'onse haer vryeleijde*) (272) as have nothing but provisions in their vessels or bring some tin to sell to you or to bring themselves to Malacca, otherwise none.

The people of Pera voyaging to Queda and Bencalis may, on their return, bring only rice, wax, iron and other similar trifling (*geringe*) necessities, without any quantity of piece goods or calicoes which are brought here from Malacca and Aatchin in more than sufficient quantity for them.

Company's cloths have hitherto usually been sold in Pera at the following prices, viz.:

1 piece of white salemvoeris	10- 9½	} bidoors of tin each weighing 3 lbs.
Guinea cloth	18-17½	
brown blue salemvoeris	-12	
white bethilles	10- 9	
blue bethilles	12	} bidoors of tin each weighing 3 lbs.
Sarassa maleije	16	
Tapie Sarassa	6	
Bafta brootchia	30, 25 to 20	

However, you will not be able to tie them (273) down to this rate, but will have power to waive so much of it as by exact enquiry you learn is done up river in Pera by others, following thus merchants' usage, but taking care that said piece goods and calicoes are not dealt with at a lower rate than they are worth here in Malacca, reckoning the tin that is taken for them at 35 reals per bhaer.

The tin which is given in pawn and is paid for here in Malacca at 40 reals the bhaer is almost always smelted into bars (*baten*) easy to handle: so that no allowance must be made for loss in smelting. Such deduction is necessary only in the case of trade tin and then only for what has been actually smelted from small pieces into ingots<sup>1</sup> easy to handle<sup>2</sup> and [it should be estimated] at 1%, at which we are of opinion you will be safe from loss. When receiving the tin you must be careful to see that it is not mixed with lead or fraudulently adulterated with earth or stone.

(274) Credit dealings have been definitely forbidden for a long time past by our masters on account of the great loss occasionally suffered therefrom. We therefore recommend you also to avoid the same as far as is in any way feasible. However, if the king and the great nobles sometimes make written request (as is their custom) through their servants for piece goods and calicoes, you may, in order to do them no discourtesy, agree, provided, that is, that the quantity is not too great, and afterwards make civil demand for payment.

At every opportunity we must be advised not only of the state of things and of events in Pera but also of the amount of tin in store, so that we may regulate our action accordingly and you may have it when necessary fetched away (*en Ul. deselve des noodigh sijnde te laten affhalen*).

You must not occupy a larger area yonder on shore than necessity demands and must not risk much tin there, so that we may not be surprised by rascals and robbed of the tin. (275) Be careful to have the tin in stock sent to us by all ships and sloops coming to Malacca by way of Pera, if they have room or are convenient for this purpose, when the tin amounts to 20, 30 or more bhars.

However all the tin you ship away must be weighed in the Dutch scales, which can be done without loss to you, in such wise that it does not fall short in the weighing, otherwise the Superintendent (*oppenhoofd*) of Pera (for the Honourable Company cannot suffer thereby) shall be bound to make good the shortage.

<sup>1</sup> The first letter of this word lost in the original; the rest of it reads *eugen*.

<sup>2</sup> The original has *handelbaare*, which may possibly mean "merchantable."



it being understood that if the pieces are delivered otherwise, *i.e.* short, the signatories of the bill of lading must answer and be liable for any pieces missing.

All expenses, wherein you must aim as much as possible at economy and incur none not absolutely necessary, you shall (as has been done in the past) debit to the tin, (276) whenever any is sent to Malacca, for it is only fair that the trade should bear the expenses incurred in getting it. Remember also to record in the ships' books, as is customary, the ship's expenses, charging the yacht therewith.

Of the tin exported to Malacca on the one hand and to Aatchin and the countries dependent on that kingdom on the other, you must keep proper record, so that at all times, when required, the quantity on each account can be shown.

The grant made formerly to Sirij Paducca Tuan, governor of the foreigners in Aatchin, of the right to export 30 bhars of tin yearly from Pera without handing any of it over to us, became invalid on the death of said orangh caya, so that you have now to pay no regard to it.

(277) Any tin supplied to you at 30 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaer by the nachodas of Aatchin vessels during their stay in Pera, so that they may in return transport a like quantity afterwards to Aatchin (as has been done habitually by many in the past), you shall accept on that condition and allow said nachodas to depart unhindered with the like quantity without committing any fraud, so as not to incur the heavy penalty attaching thereto.

Tin smuggled in any ships shall, when discovered, be taken out of them, but the owners shall all the same be paid for it at 30 reals the bhaer, if they are men of Pera or Aatchin, but they must be warned not to do it again, on pain of being more hardly dealt with. A notification of each case must be made to the rulers in Pera. If foreigners attempt such smuggling, the tin shall be taken from their ships and confiscated, in whole or in part according to circumstances, to the benefit of the Honourable Company, the discoverers of the smuggling being given a modest present therefrom, so as to encourage them again to keep a sharp look out on other occasions.

The Honourable Company pays no duties in Pera on imported merchandise and wares, but, on exported tin which is bought at 30 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaer and at no higher price, we are subject to a duty of 2 reals 24 stivers per bhaer, and, in addition, on (278) each goerab's cargo, which may be reckoned at 100 bhaers, to 3 reals 45 stivers for steelyard hire (*daats loon*), mast, and anchorage money. Fulfilment of which obligation must be continued and his dues must be sent annually to the king in cash or piece goods without reduction of the amount due to His Majesty in any degree, so as to give him no reasons for complaint against us.

The Civill [Seville] (Civiliaanse) reals of eight in specie, which, like the Mexican, are not desired in Pera, although they are good silver and heavy, and moreover are current like other reals here in Malacca, as elsewhere under the Company's rule, for 24 heavy double stivers, you must try to recommend the people of Pera to accept in payment for their tin and, if the provincial dollars (*provincie daalders*) could also be introduced and given currency yonder, it would be a very desirable thing; you must try to get the people of Pera to listen to this and in time to bring it to pass, which should bring you much honour.

You must diligently endeavour to prevent private individuals from getting even the smallest part of the tin, since it is obligatory on you and on everyone above all things to abstain therefrom, so as to avoid loss and ruin to yourselves.

The favour of the king and all the ruling nobles of Pera, and among them especially the Dato Bandhara, you must try to gain by courteous and friendly behaviour for the furtherance of the Company's service and in order to secure a great quantity (279) of tin. You must treat the people well and give them no cause for complaint by reason of arrogant speech, as to which the people of Pera are very sensitive. You may, with this end in view, give said rulers small presents, as circumstances may require and as may be to our advantage, without running to excess or going beyond what is moderate, entering in the accounts what you have actually given in presents, if you can prove it (*niet\* in reecq. bremgende als 't geen doen blijcken kunt warelijck hebt verchonken*).

In the past some complaints have been made against us of not dealing quite fairly yonder when using the steelyard, on taking delivery of the tin. In order to avoid that scandal in future, the king and the Dato Bandhara recently promised to appoint a trustworthy Pera weigher for the Company and to order him to take up continuous residence near or on the Company's yacht at the mouth of the river. When he comes, you shall be helpful to said weigher and accommodate and treat him courteously, allowing him to weigh on the steelyard all the tin that comes, so that neither one nor the other party comes short, otherwise he must be answerable and liable therefor.

Last year the English brought their piece goods and calicoes from Queda in a sloop and sold them in Pera taking tin (280) to export in exchange to an amount, according to rumour of about 200 bhaars. In the month of August last they were again in Pera with a ship coming from Suratta by way of Aatchin and Queda (having the said sloop again with them), but, on the resolution of the king and nobles, they were warned off and consequently compelled to depart thence bootless and ashamed, so that we may hope that they will not return to Pera or, if they do, that they will again be warned off by the people of Pera. However, in case

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\*Or met.

English, French or Danes should, contrary to our confident expectation and the efforts you would then make (*en Ul. als dan te doene ijver*) in the future happen to get permission to trade yonder, then you must write news of it to us at the earliest opportunity. In the meanwhile you must not use any rough measures against said Europeans to hinder their trade and to make them depart thence, but must leave them in peace and quiet, though holding no communication with them, or, at any rate, as little as is compatible with good breeding. They too, on their side, must not oppose us, if we compel the people of Pera to maintain the said contract, since they will have broken it in admitting said Europeans.

For instance, you must try to prevent the people of Pera from going on board English and French [ships], not allowing them to take any tin on board or to fetch piece goods from them; at first merely forbidding the same, but, if the (281) people of Pera dare to persist in doing it, use such forcible means (without, however, venturing on anything reckless or hazardous) as may be to your hand, taking from them all the tin and piece goods found in their praos and not restoring them until these Europeans are warned off and have departed. You must take care above all that our people do not trade with them, prohibiting this on pain of severe punishment. So long as said Europeans are yonder, no tin must be released for Aatchin, nor must any vessels from Aatchin be allowed to proceed up river to Pera. You must always give us detailed information of all matters touching these things.

You must also make secret enquiries whether said Europeans have brought with them goods belonging to Moors subject to Malacca's dues and rights, which they thus unjustly filch from the Company. In such case you should explain this to them and see that the Moors with their goods are withdrawn. You may give them permission to come here with the goods and trade in them, if they are willing to submit to the payment of the customary dues.

You must not keep a larger force than 50 men for the blockade, in addition to those who are at present stationed in the house on the island of Dingding, if there is no more work to be done than there is at this time.

(282) You shall have the order recently issued by the fiscal, Jacob Martensz. Schagen to the authorities on said Dingding conformed to on all points, keeping the people there from infringing it and taking careful note of their good and bad behaviour.

If English, French, Danish, Portuguese or other Europeans lie in the harbour of Dingding or are in the river of Pera, you must give diligent heed to prevent any malicious or discontented persons from contriving to hide on their ships and so get away.

You must not deprive our ships passing Pera of their equipment and, if you take anything of which you have need from them, you must give a payment order for it, as is fitting. But, in order commonly to be provided with so much the more willing servants, you shall be empowered to give the equivalent sum in exchange for a signed order to such members of all our ships, yachts and sloops, without exception, happening merely to pass yonder, whether they come from here, Batavia or elsewhere and have other destinations or are on their way from other places hither, as happen to finish their time in Pera and have no desire to sign on again or to stay there any longer. But this must be done on the understanding that said ships are commanded by skippers; in the case of any special persons (283) of higher degree being on board, permission must be asked with due respect of them and no action taken in this matter without their consent, in accordance with the letter of authorization on this point issued 16th July 1667 to the superintendent of Pera to this end.

Company's servants, however, who have served their time and are desirous of continuing still longer or who during their time of service are found suitable for and are appointed to some office, shall send us a request in due form for renewed engagement to the Company with increase of pay or to be in such wise improved as the general ordinance indicates.

The carpenters attached to you in the blockading force must be employed continuously and, if there is urgent work to be done, must work at the sloops and small vessels as well as the yacht to the end that they do good service and that said servants really earn the high wages they get.

Company's piece goods and calicoes yonder with the blockading force, you must have examined and aired at least every fortnight in fine weather, so that they may not get musty, spotted or damp or be damaged by ants. Loss occurring through neglect of this shall otherwise be put to your account.

When asking for the cash, piece goods, food, ship's equipment, medicines and other material needed by the Pera blockading force, you shall apply to us here in Malacca by a regular requisition, response to which you have to expect, when opportunity (284) serves, to such extent as we judge useful and as can be spared from our stores. On receipt of any cash, merchandise or other goods, you shall examine, count or weigh them in the presence of the persons bringing them or of two credible witnesses, and shall, on every occasion, report to us in writing on the result and form thereof, so that we may make use of it to have compensation or payment made by those through whose negligence anything shall have been delivered damaged or short and, in order that we may convince them, you can send us also an attestation, signed by the persons who were present at the delivery of the goods.

Those persons, who allow any of the passing ships to escape us, must be sent hither to be made to suffer here their well merited punishment. But those members of the force stationed under you yonder in the blockade, who happen to commit any fault or offence under civil law, you yourself may judge in accordance with the general ordinance, the heaviest sentence in your power being keel-hauling, so as to deter others from similar evil courses. Delinquents guilty of more criminal offences you shall send under arrest to us to receive sentence here as the facts of the case demand.

You shall maintain a correspondence with the blockading forces of Queda and Oedjang Salangh, sending letters at every opportunity, wherein you record everything that has happened to you, as they also have orders to do with you; since it is frequently necessary in the interests of the Company that the one should be informed of the condition and (285) actions of the other, so that they may make use of this knowledge the more surely in similar or other circumstances.

By distributing the sloops and vessels you have at your disposal to lie on watch by night in the river of Pera, you must, as far as possible, contrive to prevent any vessels from going out or coming into the same by stealth and so defrauding the Honourable Company of its lawful rights.

At all spring tides or whenever there is no necessary work to be done, you must examine the rivers of Barnam, Larot, Dingding and Borrewas together with the streams and creeks in the surrounding districts by means of the sloops, if you have any at your disposal for the purpose, and sometimes have a little cruising done at the Sambilangs.

In the case of vessels met with, which are not exempt (*onvrij*) or unprovided with a pass, you shall put none of our people in danger, but shall seize the nachoda, or two others of the principal persons, and all the tin they have in the ship and then have the vessels brought to the Pera blockading force, charging our people to take good care of the persons seized and to give not the least opportunity of doing them harm, dealing with the said vessel as stated above.

Our cruisers may certainly employ arms to secure control of the Saletters, who are usually armed and have no goods or cargo of importance, (286) if they offer resistance and it is consequently impracticable by gentler methods. Preference should, however, be given to the latter over the sternest measures and all unnecessary bloodshed should be avoided. You shall then, when occasion serves send these pirates to us under arrest to be put in chains or otherwise dealt with as the case may demand.

You must take careful heed to the prevention of all abuses and attacks on honest men in mistake for bad ones (*geen goede voor quade luijden aan te tasten*). You must give to all the

people of Pera going out daily to fish or to drag for krang or oysters a free pass note to show to our cruisers, if they meet any.

In the issue of provisions you must maintain the requisite order according to the general ordinance, and must see to preventing the arrack from being drunk up at once on the sloops, as is customary yonder, but that each man is given daily his ordinary ration, so as to prevent all dissoluteness and needless waste of provisions, you yourself setting a good example in sobriety and numerous other virtues. You must keep memorandum books of the consumption of all food, drink, ship's and other necessities, so that you can, when required, give an account of everything. Good care must always be taken of the barrels also and none must be neglected, but all kept in good condition. At every opportunity you must remember to send as many to us as can be spared yonder, so that it may be possible, as necessity arises, to re-provision the blockading force so much the more conveniently.

(287) You must close the trade books on the last day of June and at the first opportunity after that day send them hither, so that they may be duly entered in the trade books of Malacca. The ships' books must also be here every year in good time, so that they can be sent to Batavia and thence to Holland (*naa 't vaderland*).

If circumstances arise as to which no special order is given here, such action shall be taken as you shall judge to be demanded by the interest of the Honourable Company, after you have weighed everything well with the Council, which shall consist of the superintendent (*opperhoofd*), the skipper and the bookkeeper together with all such persons in addition as the general ordinance names.

In conclusion we recommend you always to be on your guard and in an attitude of defence, keeping both large and small fire-arms ready for use, so as not to be surprised unprepared by our open enemies or false friends, whom, if they have committed an act of hostility against you, you are not bound to respect, but, in such case, may certainly (according to nature's law) resist force by force.

Relying on all of which injunctions, I commend you and the Company's interests entrusted to you to God's beneficent protection.

Order for Caspar Wensel of Calis in Saxony, sergeant in the service of the Dutch East India Company and also superintendent (*opperhoofd*) appointed over the island of Dingding, and those who may be stationed there hereafter, according to which they have, in general, to regulate their action.

The highly esteemed (*hoog gedagte*) Honourable Company has not only had an eye on said island of Dingding, which has never yet been held by any of the neighbouring (*der hande*)

peoples nor been counted as part of their territory, (288) but has for a period of over 20 years almost continuously had its servants there, especially members of the Pera blockading force, who did carpentry and other services and in consequence it has of necessity been occupied by our people from that time, onwards, although only to partially. This occupation it is now decided to make complete and therefore to that end to have a house built, so that other Europeans, and especially the English, should not be beforehand with us in taking it and drawing the same island into their sphere and service. The house is now finished and has been made solid and strong by the work put into it (according to the model given to us by the Governor Balthasar Bort and the Council of Malacca). You shall therefore take up your abode there and take special heed to carry out the following points of order, carefully to maintain and duly to fulfil them.

In the first place you shall allow all people of nations with whom we are at peace, both Europeans, viz., English, French and Danes, and also Indian peoples to draw water on said island, to cut fire- and other light wood, as also to provide and refresh themselves from the hardships of the sea at their convenience and pleasure without causing any of them in so doing the least annoyance or hindrance, or suffering such to be done to them by your people, no matter what show of justice there might be for it. You must, however, take care that very large and heavy trees suitable for the making of ships' masts, and also redwood trees, are cut and carried away as little as possible on said island by any of said people, (289) excusing your refusal with all politeness by affirming the superior need of the Honourable Company itself.

But if any of said people have lost any of their masts, yards, etc. through storms or otherwise and have no others to set up in their place, you shall, in such a case of need, have it in your power to grant them permission to provide themselves with the necessary masts, yards and other things of the kind, so as to be able duly to complete their voyage.

But you must try to accustom said people, one as much as another, to do or carry out nothing on said Dingding, unless they have first asked for and got your consent thereto, so that you may always know who is on or at the said island and then you can, to some extent, regulate their action according as those people are more or less trustworthy.

All Malay, Javanese or other vessels belonging to Indians, which approach or pass Dingding in the channel in great numbers, must be hailed or signalled to with one or two musketshots, so that the nachodas or chiefs may come ashore to you with their praos. You must then ask them whence they come and whither they are going, demanding their passes in a friendly way. If they possess and show them, you must let them go their way unhindered.

If, as does happen, it is believed that vessels, especially those belonging to inhabitants of Queda, are returning empty from Pera, and make an attempt to load with tin between the Pera river and the island of Dingding, especially in an inlet (*inkam*) on a piece of flat ground called Heckeren and inhabited by various men of Pera, (290) in order to export it to places to the North, then you shall be authorized, when they come to Dingding, to have them examined in a perfectly amicable way, even if they have passes, and to do this, especially in the case of such as are going to Queda, and appear to some extent to have a cargo; any tin found in them you may land, directing the owners to the Pera blockading force for payment. But you understand, this must be done only if no evident danger is to be seen or suspected in the detention and examination and in the removal of the tin, otherwise such vessels had better be left alone and an endeavour made, before the departure of the same, by some means or other to inform the chief of the Pera blockading force.

The vessels which have no pass and intend to voyage further than Pera, you must have brought to anchor at Dingding and made to lie there, especially if they are large and have a cargo, the nachodas being ordered to go with their own prao and men to the Pera river (which, with the tide, is only 3 hours' hard rowing away) and fetch safe conduct passes from the Dutch chief on the yacht lying in the blockade. He will no doubt give you orders as to what you are to do or leave alone.

You must, above all, take good care that the people of Pera or any other people with whom we are at peace, or at any rate not openly at war, are not treated rudely, insolently or vexatiously by you or the common soldiers under you, (291) much less that any act of open enmity in word or deed is committed, so as not to disturb the people's minds or give them any reason or cause for aversion to you.

Still you must, on occasion, in kindly and honourable terms, defend the Company's right and just claims and try, as regards the foreigners passing by, to make yourself agreeable and, at the same time, with all courtesy, to do the duty now imposed on you and any that shall be ordered in the future.

Nevertheless you must also, by a constant good watch by night as much as by day and the maintenance of your arms in readiness, see to being always on guard and ready for all open enemies and false friends, so as to make defence and to oppose force with force against any who attack and treat you as enemies, trusting no foreigner over much, but considering that you have to deal with Malays, some of whom are bad and malignant and are actually very desirous of depriving Christians of their lives and property, as various grievous examples have given clear evidence.

In order to prevent all conceivable and inconceivable mishaps, you shall allow no one to go or voyage elsewhere except duly



armed and provided with a gun (of which the natives are very much afraid) and each with a stout broad sword. Moreover you must, if any of your men are away from the house in another bay, be mindful always to have some men armed as above in the prao while the others (292) fish or carry out any other task assigned to them.

As interpreter with the Malays and other peoples, you can employ the sailor Diego from Bengal, who is fairly well acquainted with the language and has been expressly assigned to you for that purpose.

Besides aforesaid sailor and yourself, there are 13 persons under your orders, to wit:

- 1 Corporal
- 10 Soldiers and
- 2 Slaves of the Company, one being a joiner.

You must live with them as befits honest folk, preventing all strife, disputes, wrangling and fighting, but making each man fulfil what is necessary and has been laid upon him.

Above all you must not neglect divine worship, but have the usual prayers said morning and evening. On Sunday you must also have a sermon read and then God the Lord will graciously preserve and bless you all.

On weekdays, when there is no more necessary work to be done, you must try to make the flat piece of ground, on which said house is built, larger and larger. You must also plant and sow it with all sorts of fruit trees and also vegetables, for which purpose you shall be provided with garden seeds from Malacca, as opportunity offers. Which fruit and vegetables must be used for the food and maintenance in health of yourself and our men in the Pera blockading force together with the passing ships, but especially for men who are sickly.

The flag on the staff in front of said level ground (293) you must fly only on Sunday and not on weekdays except when ships or vessels are sighted; at nightfall, and during the day also when it rains, it must be brought in, so that said flag may last the longer.

There are in the house for your use the following necessities:

- 2 small boxes of assorted nails
- 6 iron shod spades
- 6 pickaxes
- 12 axes
- 2 crowbars
- 12 cane baskets
- 1 prao
- 1 seine net
- 300 musket balls
- 100 lbs. of gunpowder and
- 4 bundles of matches.

You must above all take good care that there is no neglect of these things, nor needless squandering of the provisions. Other necessities which you will need or receive, you shall be provided with by the chief of the Pera blockading force. He is at present the junior merchant, Sr. Adriaan van der Walle; you are under his command and must consequently be obedient to him and pay him due honour and respect; you must also carry out the orders he shall in the future think good to give you in addition to those of this memorandum against all irregularities and evil courses, which cannot now be known but with experience will manifest themselves.

Relying hereupon and on what has been briefly cited above, we commend you all to God's holy protection (294) and remain your friend (Signed) Jacob Martensz. Schaagen. (In the margin) Dingdingh, in the yacht *De Meyboom*, 21st Oct. 1670.

A blockade must also be maintained before Queda at times when yachts and sloops suitable for the purpose can be spared, to show the king of that place, so long as he continues to refuse satisfaction to the Company, that we do not give up our claim, and also to keep off all Portuguese and Moorish ships, if they wish to enter the port, and to make any, who may have come there before the arrival of our blockading force, pay Malacca's dues (that is 10%) on the cargoes brought by them, also to remove half the tin they are exporting, provided you pay for it at the Malacca price of 40 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaar of 375 lbs.; further to prevent all native vessels from entering or leaving the Queda river and to confiscate such as you can overtake, especially those laden with tin.

Last year a Moorish ship is said to have appeared before Queda from Souratta and to have departed again with a large quantity of tin early in the month of November as reported to us by the equipage master, Claarbout, whom we had sent thither to make the examination there. In reference to this matter a letter should be written to the Director, Sibrant Abbema in Suratta to ask if this Moor (who succeeded by his speedy departure in defrauding the Honourable Company of its due) could be persuaded to payment, especially if he should ask for the Company's pass either for Queda or elsewhere hereabouts, by refusing it, unless he binds himself to the payment of said dues. In this way their Honours succeeded very circumspectly in 1677 in dealing with one Mamet Selbij, a Turkish merchant in Suratta, (295) whose ship returned safely also from Queda without having paid any dues. Afterwards, when he wanted a pass for the same ship to Siam by this route, it was granted to him under a promise to have the further claim of the Company here in Malacca paid by the nachoda of the said ship, who actually did this by a payment of 1000 re<sup>s</sup>.

The Queda blockading force has usually been provided by us with the following:

Order for the commanders of the ships and sloops employed in the blockade of the river Queda whereby they shall regulate their action.

In view of the fact that the king of Queda and his nobles are still in default and have not paid the Honourable Company a notable sum of money, amounting according to the books of /55784.8.8, which it claims from them and that there are just reasons for resenting and avenging the massacre perpetrated in 1659 on nine Dutch seamen on the river Queda, having moreover good cause to maintain the contract made with them in 1642, whereby they are bound to deliver to the Honourable Company half of the tin found in their country and brought thither from abroad at  $31\frac{1}{4}$  re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaar, which contract has never been carried out by them, therefore we are compelled to continue the blockade there, in which you shall conform to the order given to you in the following.

The chief object of this blockade is the prevention of most of the trade and traffic of foreigners in Queda by refusing them entrance and access to the river, but on the contrary keeping them away, especially the Portuguese and Moorish ships, so as to cut them [i.e. the King and nobles of Queda] off from a large part of the prosperity and revenue which they would (296) enjoy from said traffic, and thereby to force them to come to the resolution to give satisfaction to the Honourable Company.

When any Portuguese or Moorish ships arrive, even if the same should be provided with passes from our officials in Cormandel, Bengaale and Suratta (since they usually come from those places), you shall not allow them to enter the Queda river, but must keep them outside and not suffer them to land any goods or to receive any from the shore for the purpose of trade or war, even if they are willing to pay Malacca's dues to you there. Instead they must depart thence either to Aatchin or Tanassery. This, however, we should not like to see, but would rather they came hither, whereto you are to exhort them and to promise that, when they have been here and paid toll, they shall not be refused a pass to aforesaid place on condition of delivering to you a certain quantity of tin from there, for which payment shall be made to them at 40 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaar.

Since we have maintained and are maintaining only a blockade at Queda without attempting anything more by means of open warfare, therefore, in accordance with the latest treaty concluded between the sovereigns on both sides in Europe, we must not keep the English out of Queda, but must allow them to go out of and into the river undisturbed. They are, however, in conformity with said treaty subject to examination, which you shall propose to them with discretion and in fact carry out (so as to maintain the custom).

It is not their practice to carry any contraband goods thither, but they do bring merchandise belonging to the Moors as freight, which ought to be subject to the Malacca toll, if we knew it for certain, but they will never own to it, so that we cannot find it out; all the same you may (297) learn of it by a side wind and ask them if they have any Moorish goods on board, and must note down their answer and the names of the ships and their captains together with the nature of their cargoes, whence they come and by whom they have been equipped, all of which information you must then write in detail (*pertinent*) to us at the first opportunity that offers.

All native vessels which are not provided with our passes, you must also keep outside Queda, except those coming from the North, viz. from Aetchin, Oedjanghai Salang and Trang, which are still allowed to voyage to Queda (without being obliged to go to Malacca first) and have the right to take piece goods and other merchandise there, but never any tin. All vessels must therefore be closely but politely and not rashly examined and, if any tin is found in them, you shall remove the whole of it and give the owners a bill to enable them to demand payment for it here, which shall then be made. If, however, they are disposed themselves to come hither at once with their own vessel, you are to remove only half and to allow them to retain the other half, on the understanding that you give them a receipt for what you have taken and do not in the smallest degree wrong them in their persons or goods nor treat them rudely.

You shall warn any vessels touching there from Pera to depart with their cargo, but any tin found in them you must remove, keeping a good record of the amount both of the pieces and of the weight together with the name of the owner to whom you shall also give an acknowledgment of receipt, so that he may ask payment here from us.

The force blockading Pera is now enjoined to grant no passes to Queda and you must not provide the Queda people with passes to voyage to Pera, as being disadvantageous to the Honourable Company at this conjuncture.

You must remove about a third of the tin in their cargo from vessels coming from Queda, even if they (298) hold passes from us and wish to come hither and must give for it a bill on us to be discharged here at 40 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaar of 375 lbs.

If Moors or other people bring you tin of the country, you are also authorized to accept it, the purchase to be completed either here as above or yonder by yourself, if you have the money, but you must not pay more than 35 reals of eight in specie for the bhaar of the stated weight. You cannot get too much at this price.

You shall allow the Queda fishermen to go about their business unhindered and free and to go in and out of the river daily, trying to accustom them to come to you for a pass, as happens

before Pera, so as to make it possible to distinguish their vessels from those of the Saletters or pirates roving there and thereby to prevent their being attacked if encountered by our ships. In return for this liberty they must occasionally bring necessary provisions on board to you, so as the better to keep our men in health. You are to buy these from them, treating them civilly. You must make them understand this and, at the same time, make it clear that, if they neglect to do it, you, on your side, will not suffer their fishing, but will put obstacles in the way. However, you must not do this lightly, since it is rather hateful to do damage to poor harmless fisherfolk.

On land also you shall undertake no hostilities and shall allow none of our people to go ashore, so that they may not be surprised and killed by the Malays. At sea and in the river the practice of hostility or enmity towards the Queda and other native vessels must be avoided in future as in the past and no offensive, but merely defensive, action must be taken against the same when meeting, boarding (*aandoen*) and examining vessels. You must abstain from the commission of the first hostile act, but must all the same be always so much on your guard that they do not harm you, even if they intended to do so. If you are (299) first attacked by them, you may not only resist, but may overcome them, as is permitted under the laws of war.

If the king of Queda or the nobles of the country attempt to send a ship to Cormandel, as has certainly happened in the past, you must effectively stop it even by force of arms, and see that you not only prevent it, but also employ and set means in action to get the same into your power, sending it then with crew, goods and everything hither, so as to derive from it payment of the notable sum of money which the Honourable Company claims with justice from the king (as heretofore indicated).

If vessels wish to board you now as in the past with a white flag and to bring a message from the king or nobles, you must allow them to come and go unhindered and must treat the crew in a friendly way and receive them well; all the same you must not trust them too far and must see to it that you are carefully on your guard and in an attitude of defence against their rascally and treacherous wiles. You must make a note of their message and of whatever else you learn from them and, when opportunity serves, send us a report thereof. If they happen to make any proposals for the settlement of the Company's claim, you shall tell them that the Governor and Council of Malacca have now received orders from their Honours the Supreme Government of India in Batavia to come to an agreement with the king concerning this matter and, if his Highness is disposed to send envoys with full powers for that purpose alone, give them to understand that we, on our side, will contribute everything that is just and right to the arrival at a treaty and agreement, so as to renew and re-establish the old friendship between Queda and us.

Four sailors ran away from the yacht *Geldria* in 1669 when it was blockading Queda; they are said to be living in Queda by permission of the king. (300) You must never cease trying to get them back and making enquiry as to their doings yonder. It is reported that three of them have already died, but we have no assurance of this.

The blockading force must be kept yonder almost the whole year, so long as we get no satisfaction, wherefore, so as to have no lack of drinking water and firewood, they must be looked for betimes in the Bonting and other islands, so that these necessities may always be fetched thence. If, on such occasions, any durable ship's timber and other wood for building praos is found in the forests, see to getting a goodly provision of it to send to us one time or another or to bring with you yourself.

For the protection of aforesaid drawers of water and hewers of wood some men must always be employed, otherwise they run the risk of being suddenly attacked and slain by the Malays, as has happened several times in former days.

In conclusion I recommend you to take this our order well to heart and to fulfil it and put it in action with circumspection according to circumstances; relying on which we wish you a good result in all your dispositions and God's blessing. We remain your friends (signed Balthasar Bort, H. Schenkenbergh, H. S. van der Oy, A. Lucase, Nicolaas Muller, Jan Joosten Bal, and Jacob M. Schagen, Secretary. (In the margin) Malacca. 16th July 1670.

A trading expedition was sent by us to Oedjang Salang and Bangarij for the first time in 1670 and was continued up to 1672, bearing some fruit, whereby the Honourable Company secured a tolerable amount of tin. This reasonable beginning should have led to good results, (301) if we had been able to go on with it, but their Honours in Batavia could not approve, principally by reason of the perverse report from our officers in Siam, who in their letters to their Honours aforesaid depicted our procedure very ill, relying on the complaints constantly made to them by the Siamese nobles, who always fobbed off our people with *traes* (*paijende d'onse 'telkens met traes*), that is, letters addressed to the governors of those places admonishing them to favour us in trade, but their real contents were always unknown to us, for they were written in the Siamese language and never translated for us.

The Honourable Company cannot continue in the trade there, if the Malays and Javanese go thither to trade and, instead of delivering the tin to the Honourable Company, transport it to Aatchin, Queda and Tannasserij. The same is true if the Moors and Siamese from Tannasserij frequent Oedjang Salang and Bangarij in such large numbers and get possession of all the tin. With this end in view they force the governors and inhabitants to accept

their piece goods and merchandise in exchange for tin, being with this object provided with letters from the Siamese king and nobles, which are obeyed better than those we have so far secured.

On our repeated complaints against the governor, Opra Peth as an enemy of the Honourable Company and a great favourer of the Malays trading there and as inciting them against us treacherously to overpower the Company's sloops, as happened to two, the crews being cruelly murdered, he was indeed recalled from Oedjang Salang to Siam and retained there, but two Moors were sent in his place to govern that island and Bangarij also. These men persuaded our residents in Siam that they would favour us in trade and help us to a great deal of tin. This, however, is not now to be expected (302) from them, for, after entering on their government last year, they did not retain it long, since one day when both were at Oedjang Salang in the house of one of them, it was set on fire and they were killed by a mob composed chiefly of Malays from Queda who usually support themselves there by robbery and theft and would be glad to be masters of the country themselves, having already many of their creatures living there, who conspired with them and the Aatchinese, lying there with their vessels, against said Moorish governors, because they, as the story goes, were unwilling to allow the export of tin to any other place then Tannasserij. In furtherance of which, I believe, the Moors in Siam (who have a share in the government there and are urging the king to adopt their religion) have, by the expenditure of a great deal of money, brought it about that the king passed over his own countrymen, contrary to old custom and appointed these two Moors as governor of these lands of his, but to their misfortune, whereby others of that nation will lose any desire to incline in that direction. Perhaps this will not be bad for the Honourable Company, if it some day once more takes up trade there. However you must not come to this before, and only when, you have information how this massacre is regarded by the Siamese king and what is done in punishment of it, for, however good that prince's intentions may be towards the Honourable Company, we cannot trade safely in these lands of his except under arms, so long as we have not his protection against these Malay foreigners, of which there has been hitherto complete lack, apparently because these lands are too far away and he knows that his own people are not good warriors.

The first order issued by us to that place reads as follows:

- (303) Memorandum and order for the Captain Gerrit Pieterse van Wesel and other commanders of the yacht *Stokvis* and the frigate *Malacca*, together with the sloops *Angelier* and *Dolpbijn* setting out for Oedjang Salang.

The island of Oedjang Salang, situated about 96 miles to the north of Malacca close to the mainland and about 56 miles from Aatchin, which places lie opposite to each other respec-

tively N. E and S. W., and Bangarij, situated on the mainland near said island, have always been famous as places very rich in tin and were therefore visited very often by the Company's ships, even before the conquest of the town of Malacca. After the conquest the dispatch of ships thither and to the other tin districts, i. e. Pera, Queda and Trang, from Batavia was continued for some years, but then all those places, as being situated near to Malacca, were included under its government, which consequently established all sorts of factories, took up residence and made favourable contracts; which, however, were never effectively carried out and maintained. If a disposition was nevertheless shown to enjoy the benefit promised by those contracts by the use of rough measures, they had not sometimes the best result. A sad example of this was seen, for instance, at said Oedjang Salang; the Company's factory there was attacked and set on fire and its servants, who could not escape, were cruelly put to death and murdered by some Malays, who wished to go to Tannasserij with two vessels, one of which had had 50 and the other 26 pieces of tin removed from it for which the owners had been paid. This was the first cause and the second followed it, viz. that the barque *Bernam* on guard in the river Lepon tried to prevent the departure of four Malay priests with their followers on their appearance at the mouth of this river with two vessels, because they refused to allow their vessels to be examined. Some shots were fired after it and one of said priests was hit; whereupon they went to said barque, overpowered it and killed all the crew which was on board. (304) Previous to this, however, some Malays with their sampans had come on board under a pretence of friendship as fishermen and these, on the agreed signal from said priests, immediately fell upon our men. Having accomplished this by villainous craft, they then came by night to attack the factory. Our people were only seven in number and the enemy was fully 60 strong, nevertheless they could not, in face of the resistance offered, make themselves masters of it as quickly as they wished, so they set it on fire and our men were obliged to flee from it. Those who could not escape were massacred by these murderers as stated. The same fate befel a free burgher, Hendrik van Uls by name and his crew who lay in the river Bouquet with a vessel, which was also overpowered by them and taken away with about 60 bhaars of tin.

All this happened on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th April 1658 and that with the previous knowledge and consent of the governor of Oedjang Salang, called Opra Peth, who was still there. In this massacre 17 Dutch and 4 blacks lost their lives without cause and the Honourable Company suffered a loss of property amounting to ƒ23244.7.3 through the destruction of the factory and seizure of said barque and all its effects in these parts. It retained only ƒ7882.13.7, mostly at Bangarij, where the Company's residence was undisturbed.



Up to the present not the smallest vengeance has been taken nor punishment inflicted for this great murder and damage, nor has any satisfaction been given, wherefore the governors in that state have been encouraged and have become more insolent and petulant and have treated our people with so much the less esteem and regard. They have even taken the whole of the trade from us and handed it over to other foreigners coming from abroad (contrary to the old contracts made with the Honourable Company).

For this reason the factory was removed thence in 1660 and since then trading expeditions have been sent thither four times, so that the trade in tin there may not be entirely abandoned, to wit:

(305) In 1661 the 3rd February, the yacht *Amsterdam* under the command of the assistant Hendrik Grypecove with a cargo of: f6763. 6. 1

In 1663 on the 30th April, the galliot *De Ganges* under the command of the assistant Adriaan van der Walle f7709.12. 0.

In 1664 on the 19th February the same galliot and said van der Walle f9260. 2.14

In 1665 on the 10th June the galliot *Hammerbiel* under the junior merchant Johannes Sacharias f7817. 4. 6

These expeditions have turned out, for the most part, fruitless, since but little trade was done, the only tin come thence being as follows:

	bhar	lbs	bhar	lbs
By the first expedition .. .. .	20	262		
Received for the outstanding debts	1	331		
	—	—	22	243
By the second .. .. .	5			
For a certain Moor .. .. .	1			
	—		6	
By the third .. .. .			13	
By the fourth .. .. .	3	34		
For other people .. .. .	22	274		
Removed from a Javanese vessel	3			
	—	—	28	308
			70	201

The cause of this small trade has usually been ascribed to the ill will of the aforesaid governor, Opra Peth, who demanded immediate payment in full of the dues on the cargo taken thither (even if (306) it was not disposed of) and in addition the piece goods and other merchandise before they were exchanged for tin with the inhabitants. In fact he paid slight respect or regard to the *tra* secured by the honourable commissioner, Pieter de Bitter, from his Siamese Majesty as to free trading, so that, since it was evident that the Honourable Company could not for this reason do any great

trade there, no further expeditions were sent thither after that. The place was however visited by our inhabitants and also by the foreigners trading here, especially the Javanese and Malays, but, when we became aware that, instead of coming here with the tin they traded there, they went with it to Aatchin, contrary to the purport of the passes granted to them by us and that traffic by all sorts of natives thither was increasing more and more and that even a small Moorish ship from Masulipatnam had arrived there, moreover learning too that quite 600 bhaers of tin were being exported thence annually by these natives without any regard to Malacca, since nevertheless its domination and jurisdiction in this strait have always extended to said island, therefore their Honours the Supreme Government in Batavia were moved to resolve and determine to admit no Moorish, Portuguese, Javanese or Malay vessels or ships from that place, unless (according to the hitherto observed custom) they had touched at Malacca, paid the usual dues and obtained a pass permitting them to voyage yonder. It was moreover approved by their Honours and orders were sent to us that an endeavour should be made to bring the old contracts once more into use there, though not all (307) at once, but with moderation, gradually and by degrees.

Three originals of these contracts are here in the Secretariat, viz.: Two dated 18th March and 23rd Oct. 1643 made with Oedjang Salang and one of 1st Jan. of the year 1645 with Bangarij, wherefrom it is seen among other things how the Honourable Company is privileged in the tin trade there, especially in Bangarij, and that that mineral may not even be exported elsewhere but must all be delivered to the Honourable Company, and none may be admitted to the trade there except those who have received licenses and passes therefor from us. This custom has for some years past fallen wholly into disuse and the country has thereby become full of all sorts of foreigners who, like pedlars with their packs, go from house to house with piece goods and other wares offering them for sale. Wherefore the Honourable Company cannot make a living, if it has a residence and factory there, for no one comes to look at or enquire about our merchandise, still less can the Honourable Company hold its own there in trade, because, besides the tax of  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the imported goods (exported goods are exempt from tax), considerable presents have to be made every time on the arrival of new cargoes not only to the governor at Oedjang Salang but also to the governor at Bangarij and the other great men of the place. Moreover the piece goods have to be given to them at a lower price than to the common people and, worst of all, no trade can be done there except on credit and on trust, the people there being so idle and lazy that they mine no more tin than the amount necessary to pay for the goods they have already received before delivering the tin.

(308) When all this became clear to us on abstracting and re-reading the letters, reports, contracts and other papers from:

those districts, that have from time to time arrived in Malacca, it was judged in the interest of the Honourable Company inadvisable to take up a permanent residence there again as yet and to make expeditions thither in the former way for purposes of trade since (as related above) they turned out almost fruitless and the outlay was in vain, seeing that the governors there are determined neither to allow us to do business on such terms nor to keep out of the country the foreign traders who come there in large numbers without passes from us. Whereunto careful attention having been given by us, after ripe deliberation, it was approved and resolved to send out some yachts and sloops to cruise about there and blockade the place, the vessels having been sent to us here from Batavia for that purpose, viz. the yacht *De Stokvis* with the sloops *Angelier* and *Dolpbijn*, well manned by sailors and soldiers, and we hope that it will be possible, by this means, to attain and accomplish our object and good intent. Since a good, suitable, prudent, experienced and skilful commander is needed and these qualities should be possessed by the skipper Gerrit Pietersz. van Wesel, as is declared and believed of him, therefore the control and command of this expedition is given and entrusted to him, wherefore he shall be acknowledged, respected and obeyed by the men appointed to said expedition in everything which he orders in the service of the Honourable Company and, so that he himself may be the better able to pursue its interests, the following shall serve him and his appointed council as instructions:

(309) When sailing thither you shall try to look out for and speak all native ships and vessels met with and encountered, asking their commanders whence they come and whither they are voyaging. If they have come from the south and have passed by Malacca without calling there, you shall dissuade them from completing their voyage and direct them back to Malacca. If they accept your advice, you shall trouble them no further, but let them depart, though with a warning that, if you meet them a second time and they cannot show written proof of having been to Malacca, you will confiscate their ship or vessel with the goods in it. You must not take this step [yourself], but shall in such a case send the vessel under arrest to us in the most convenient way under escort of one of your boats, either yacht or sloop; this is to be understood as applying only to such ships as are large and contain cargo of importance. You shall not look out for small vessels, praos or boats if you meet any, take no notice of them, but let them go their way (without speaking them).

Ships coming from the north southwards you have only to warn that, if they wish to go beyond Malacca, they must touch there. This must be said with special emphasis to the masters of Portuguese and Moorish ships and they must at the same time be informed that it is useless to go to Pera or Queda, since they would be kept out by our blockade there, but if that is their only destina-

tion, they must have been to Malacca, paid their dues and received a definite license therefor and have been provided with a pass according to the ancient custom.

If you suspect tin in the vessels plying between Queda and Oedjang Salang and, on examination of the ships, you find tin there, you must remove it all, no matter how little it may be, and pay the owners 35 reals of eight in specie for each bhaer of 375 lbs, or else give them an order on (310) us for the receipt of 40 re<sup>al</sup>. here, if they prefer to have this. You must do this only in the case of vessels unprovided with our passes. From those that have passes, you need only remove about a third of their cargo of tin, giving a receipt for it, so that they may not proceed with the remaining tin to any other place than Malacca, where they shall receive 40 reals a bhaer for the tin they carry and also for what has been removed, this you must give them courteously to understand.

On your arrival before Oedjang Salang (which you have to touch at at 7° 30') you shall proceed all together, so as to inspire greater awe and respect, to the safest and most secure roadstead there is; this was formerly a pedrero shot from the river Boquet behind a small island. There you must stay for two or three days to see whether anyone from the shore or elsewhere wishes to come on board. If this happens, you must treat the people courteously and use them well, at the same time informing them that you have come there not to show enmity but friendship to each and all, if they give you no reason for the contrary. Allow them the first time to depart without making any further explanations.

Meanwhile make an exact and keen examination as to what kind of foreign ships and vessels are already there. Whether anyone comes on board or not, you shall at once prevent all vessels, which have no passes from us, from entering or approaching aforesaid river Boquet and direct them to go back whence they came, unless they wish to come to Malacca, for which purpose you shall give them a pass to voyage hither.

After the lapse of two or three days, it will be necessary to visit the river Lepon also, by which the Malays mostly go in and out and (311) further to patrol Papera, the channel between the island of Oedjang Salang and the mainland, so as to compel vessels met with there, which have no passes, to go away again.

During your stay there, if any Portuguese or Moorish ships should put in, you must notify the masters of same in a friendly way of Malacca's ancient jurisdiction and right, as expressed above, and in accordance therewith you must direct them to Malacca to get passes, in no wise suffering them to do trade in Oedjang Salang or Bangarij; with that object preventing them from landing their goods or taking tin on board.

English, French or Danish ships, however, which you may encounter, whether at sea, yonder in the harbours or happening to land near you, you must leave undisturbed and put no obstacles

in the way of their voyage or trade on shore, since reciprocal agreements and engagements have been made with those nations not to hinder each other in trade.

You shall take measures, either by friendly admonition, persuasive arguments or threats, but nothing more, to cause any Portuguese or Moorish ships you find on your arrival in harbour in this place to depart, and, if they agree to go, you shall let them go their way, first removing half of the tin they may have traded for there and paying for it at 30 r<sup>a</sup>. of eight in specie for every bhaer of 375 lbs. If they have not yet done any trade there, you shall not permit them to do any, and, if they refuse to listen to admonition to return to the place from which they came or to go to Malacca, but obstinately continue to lie there, you shall take care, the first time, only to cut them off from traffic and communication with the people on shore, but make it (312) so wearisome for them, that they will be compelled to depart.

If you find Javanese vessels there without our passes, as also Malay vessels under which are included those from Aatchin, Dillij, Queda, Pera and Johor, you shall not treat them roughly for the first voyage, but inform them that they need not be afraid that any harm will be done to them by you, that they may conclude the business they have begun without anxiety, and, on their departure, come fearlessly to you, when you shall remove half of the tin in their ships and give to the owners thereof a receipt, so that they may come here with the rest of the tin and be paid for it at 40 re<sup>s</sup>. the bhaer. In the case of persons who may be disinclined to come hither, but wish to return to their own country, you shall allow them to do so, but shall remove the whole of the tin and not pay them more per bhaer than 30 r<sup>a</sup>. with which they will have to be content.

You shall not allow the inhabitants of the country to send away their vessels to other places with tin, but, if they wish to go to Malacca with it, you are authorized to give them passes for this purpose provided they unload a third of the tin to ensure their not going to any other places.

If they cannot bring themselves to do that, you shall take over the whole of the cargo of tin and similarly give them 30 reals per bhaer in payment and then allow them forthwith to go their way.

The river Tintelij is frequented by the people of Tanasserij, and, because that country, as also Oedjang Salang and Bangarij, is a dependency of the kingdom of Siam and we are at present good friends and at peace with his Majesty, because also the Honourable Company has a factory and residence established there, this people must for the present be somewhat favoured and their doings winked at. (313) They frequent said river in the month of November and depart in the February or March following. You shall allow them to frequent said river and other places

undisturbed, provided that on their departure you remove half of the tin in their cargo and pay 30 *ra*. per bhaer for it, whereof you can advise and warn them on their arrival. If they are inclined before their departure to furnish as much tin as the half of the quantity they export would be likely to amount to, you shall agree and grant this and consent that they at the same time export the whole of the tin procured with the money received for what was removed.

To all vessels provided with our passes found there on your arrival or coming afterwards you shall show favour and good will in the business they have to do and give any reasonable help, if they ask for what is necessary thereto. You may protect them from any who may seek to wrong them, provided that you take on their departure for this place a third part of their tin on the same plan as we have described above, in the case of ships met with under way.

If tin is brought on board for sale from shore, you shall buy it from the people and may give 30 *ra*. per bhaer. You cannot get too much at that price and must therefore urge each and all to furnish tin and see to persuading them to bring it to you every day, if the Company's object is to be attained, for this expedition is made solely for the purpose of procuring tin and not to commit any hostilities yonder.

Tin is delivered there in ingots which are called in the language of the country *tondijs* and *bits*. These the Honourable Company has hitherto considered equivalent, the former to 17½ and the latter to 4¾ lbs. Dutch and has reckoned 20 *tondijs* or 80 *bits* to the bhaer, making according to this computation not more than 350 lbs. However we have been informed that the said ingots of tin are somewhat heavier and consequently a bhaer might amount to 370 or 375 lbs. To this matter you must give careful heed and we recommend you to see that the Honourable Company does not (314) come short.

In that place people do not go to market with money but with tin, the weight of which must be calculated on the price of a bhaer, which has hitherto been 23 *ra*. of eight in specie.

Formerly a fixed price was also set on certain piece goods and calicoes at which they had to be sold to the governor and the commonalty of the country. These prices are shown by the contract of 1643, the 13th March, to have been at that time as under:

	To the governor	To the commonalty
A Sarassa leij de Coutchin	7 <i>bits</i> of tin	9 <i>bits</i> of tin
A Salempoerjs	7 " "	9 " "
A piece of Guinea cloth	12 " "	16 " "
A piece of blue bethille	6½ " "	8 " "
A piece of ramboutijn	15 " "	18 " "
A piece of ardias	3½ " "	4½ " "

A piece of beetas	4	"	"	5	"	"
A piece of white bethille	8	"	"	10	"	"
A piece of madaphon	4	"	"	5	"	"
A piece of red bethille	8	"	"	11	"	"
A piece of white moeri	6½	"	"	8½	"	"
A piece of sail cloth ( <i>zeijldoek</i> )	2½	"	"	3	"	"
A piece of negro cloth	3	"	"	4	"	"
A piece of Sarassa maleije	11	"	"	13	"	"

However each time a ship came in with cargo the governor might not have more piece goods at above price than the value of 9 to 10 bhaers and in those days the *bits* of tin was reckoned at the value of 17 stivers, when the bhaer as stated above stands at about 23 reals at 60 stivers each. Orders were however given to aforesaid four expeditions to pay 28 to 30 r<sup>a</sup>. per bhaer and, if even at that price no tin was to be had, the price current to the foreigners there might be given. This you also are authorized to do, if you secure trade.

So as to enable you to pay for the tin which you (315) remove from the vessels and buy, you will be given 4000 r<sup>a</sup>. of eight in specie and in addition as merchandise:

- 8 bales or 160 pieces of Guinea cloth
- 2 " or 200 pieces of bleached bethilles at 32 *asta*
- 2 " or 160 pieces of blue salempocris
- 2 " or 160 pieces of bleached salempocris
- 4 " or 800 pieces of photassen or negro cloth
- 1 " or 800 pieces of tape Sarassa telpocan
- 1 " or 240 pieces of tape Chindos from the coast
- 1 " or 800 pieces of Surat tape Chindos
- 1 " or 240 pieces of gordel Chindos
- 1 " or 200 pieces of Sarassa leij de Coutchin
- 1 " or 250 pieces of red caricams
- 2 " or 160 pieces of sailcloth
- 100 pieces of madaphon and 100 pieces of Chelas leij de Coutchin
- 100 pieces of silk patholen at 4 *asta* the piece
- 4000 lbs. of iron and 40 peculs of pepper

The bookkeeper Cornelis Braats shall keep books in due form and have the management of this cash and merchandise amounting according to the invoice to f22637.8.13, but under the superior control of the skipper, Gerrit Pieterse aforesaid, and, although these two are responsible for the barter of piece goods for tin and for the valuation of that mineral at 30 reals the bhaer, nevertheless you must take good care that a profit is made thereon of 75, 80-90% or as much more as you can get by bargaining. The sheet and pig iron has hitherto usually been exchanged at 1½ bhaers for 1 bhaer of tin and in small quantities weight for weight and a bhaer of pepper for a bhaer of tin, which rate you also must try to secure now.

At the time of the removal of the office, the outstanding debts amounted to /3094.4.4 according to the trade books kept by S. Jacob Jorisz. Pits, who was then Superintendent there, viz.:

Unknown and deceased persons			/1856. 3.12
Monschiew, late governor of Bangarij (316)	.. .. for 564	<i>bits</i> of tin	479. 8.
Meetschiew, the Opra's mother	for 37	" "	31. 9.
Commelaat	.. .. for 235	" "	199.15.
Omonschieuw Pak, the governor of Bangarij	.. .. for 283	" "	240.11.
Mompét, alias Lebemoor	.. for 337½	" "	286.17. 8
Total <i>Bits</i>			1456½ /3094. 4. 4
Said Mompét in 1661 delivered here in Malacca in part payment of his debt 20 lbs. of tin wherefor there is placed to his credit			178.11.12
Remainder			/2915.12. 8

However in the current trade books of Malacca the office in Oedjang Salang has only a debit account for outstanding debts /2628.17.11. It is not likely that you will be able to collect any of this, but all the same I have noted it here, so that it may not be forgotten.

On the mainland between Papera and Bangarij there is a mound of heavy black sand almost exactly like the heaps from tin pits and mines in other places, but the inhabitants of the country have not hitherto known how to have it smelted and so obtain tin from it. It is believed that this might be done, if some means could be discovered for smelting it. You shall see to bringing us a fair amount of the same sand, so that it may be tested.

You must first of all have search made for places where good drinking water and firewood can be got in safety, so that at all times (317) you may be able to provide yourself therewith. As reported to us, the same is to be had on the small island mentioned above by the river Boquet and also at Oedjang Salang and on the mainland in some bays there, whereof you can have a chart made, when opportunity serves, and send it to us.

So as to keep your men in health, you must not forget the need of fresh food and must procure it from the country, taking care to induce the Chinese and other people living there to bring the same to you, provided that you duly pay them for it.

The south west and north east monsoons prevail there, the former begins in May and lasts till September, when the other commences and makes the good weather there, wherefore it should be possible to remain until the 30th of April. So long as you stay



yonder, we shall not fail to assist you constantly with what you need, for we consider it of the first importance that a constant patrol must be kept up yonder on the look out for native ships, so as to keep them away from that place, employing the aforementioned yacht *De Stokvis* with the sloops *Angelier* and *Dolphijs* for this purpose. We shall send in addition the frigate *Malacca* to Oedjang Salang, which you shall send back to us in the month of October, with the tin you may have obtained by the other ships and with full reports of your experiences and dispositions, giving orders to the frigate to visit the blockading forces before Pera and Queda in passing, on the chance of their being tin there to take on board and bring here.

Said four vessels are manned, armed and victualled as follows:

<i>De Stokvis</i>	30 men, 6 pieces of ordnance and 10 months' provisions
The frigate <i>Malacca</i>	26 men, 6 pieces of ordnance and 4 months' provisions
<i>D'Angelier</i>	16 men, 12 pieces of ordnance and 6 months' provisions
<i>Dolphijs</i>	12 men, 6 pieces of ordnance and 6 months' provisions
Total	84 men, 30 pieces of ordnance.

(318) Included in aforesaid number of men are 15 soldiers with a sergeant and corporal who must take care always to keep their arms clean and ready. A big rowing prao is now going also from here to be employed before Oedjang Salang in fetching drinking water and firewood and in other services.

Our men must be strictly forbidden on pain of heavy punishment, when stopping and examining vessels and removing the tin from them, to do harm to or to defraud the people in either their persons or their property. This it is also very seriously enjoined on you all to prevent, above all guarding against being the first to commit an act of hostility or enmity, but using force only in resisting force and seeing that you are all always on your guard and in an attitude of defence, so as not to be overcome by a surprise attack. You must remember that the Indians, especially the Malays and Javanese, are treacherous and hare-brained people who are very ready to play the desperado.

In order to prove to each and all that you have come there, not as enemies but as friends, solely to uphold Malacca's ancient jurisdiction and right together with the privilege as to the tin trade in Oedjang Salang and Bangarij acquired by the contracts cited above, you will have a written declaration thereof given to you, which we have had translated into Malay and have had six copies

made of it, which you will cause all and sundry to read and handle, especially the inhabitants of the country and the Tanas-serij traders.

Two interpreters, Philippe de Costa and Bartholomeus accompany you, who are well known in Oedjang Salang and Bangarij and are expert in the Siamese, Malay and Moorish languages; you can employ them where the service of the Honourable Company demands and keep them to their duty.

(319) You must take constant and good care of the barrels which become empty, so that they may not be neglected nor broken to pieces and used for other unnecessary purposes, but kept intact and preserved to be sent to us at the proper time. You must allow no infringement of this order, for otherwise we should by reason thereof be likely to fall into difficulties in revictualling you.

The command of the yachts and sloops mentioned above and of the men on board them is given to the skipper Gerrit Pietersz. van Wesel (as stated at the beginning), the following being at present joined with him as council:

Steven Claarbout, skipper on the frigate *Malacca*,

Cornelis Braats, bookkeeper on *De Stokvis*,

Pieter Smitsen, bookkeeper on aforesaid frigate,

which persons shall on all occasions be called together by said skipper, Gerrit Pietersz. and such resolutions shall be taken as they shall deem to accord best with the interests of the Honourable Company and this our order. If a consultation has to be held on matters of justice and right, mates also shall be called into council and such others as the general order mentions, according to the contents of which you shall regulate your action in delivering judgments and imposing penalties on the delinquents and criminals and in executing the sentence, with the exception of such crimes as ought to be punished with death, which you must not decide yonder, you must send all such criminals under arrest to us.

Further, keep always good order among the men and take care of the provisions, so that they may duly last out. Relying upon which we wish you all God's blessing and success in this commission (320) laid upon and entrusted to you.

Malacca, 9th Aug. 1670.

The Honourable Company, as touched on above, allows none of its subjects to trade to Andragierij, because it now has a factory there with 26 servants under the command of the merchant and Superintendent, Adriaan van der Walle, also named above. They trade there mostly in Cormandel and a little in Surat piece goods, the kind of goods in demand being now solely Guinea cloth and blue and white beteelas, which do not yield a smaller profit on the average than  $\frac{3}{4}\%$  [? 75%], if gold is reckoned as 19 <sup>ra</sup>. the theijl or  $1\frac{2}{3}$  <sup>ra</sup>. in weight, and pepper at 16 <sup>ra</sup>. the bhaer of 488

lbs., as is now done in exchange for piece goods, exchange being in fact the only method in use owing to the fact that there is little or no circulation of money yonder, although the Honourable Company is in the habit of sending 1000 r<sup>a</sup>. of eight in specie thither every year for the payment of duties and damages (*guastos*). Formerly gold was not subject to dues, but later it was agreed to give one r<sup>a</sup>. from each theijl in weight. This regulation is still in force. Similarly two r<sup>a</sup>. for one bhaer of pepper; these terms apply to the Honourable Company only, but the trade in gold it has in common with others, though it is of most importance to it; so much the more because a higher price is paid yonder for pepper than here or in Batavia and spice is not much grown there, so that orders have constantly been given for the purchase of gold rather than pepper. Formerly trade in piece goods to the amount of about 100,000 guilders (*een tonne gouts*) was done each year but the people of Andragierij cannot furnish us with any trade when the Manicabers of the hills do not come down with their gold and (321) pepper. They sometimes fall out with the hill-men and then the trade comes to a standstill, as happened, the year before last, when the Manicaber King of Quantam made open war on Andragierij and tried to make himself master of it, but failed so that he had to flee. On his return to his own country, he sued for peace and, as we understand, obtained it, whereby trade was once more set going to some extent. All the Andragierij gold and also all bought here may certainly be sent to Batavia, if it can get there by about the middle of July, so as to be sent to Cormandel with the last convoy to Cormandel, which goes then. Otherwise it must be kept until the end of the year, when a dispatch is made to Cormandel from here, to be taken thither with the Japanese gold. The office at Andragierij has been under the control of Malacca since the year 1667 and the Honourable Company has the following contract with the king there.

In the name of God amen, this document is confirmed and made from sincere friendship by the Sultan Agamath Sach Nasrodin, bardaulath in the town of Andragierij through the commissioners of the two brothers (Jang de Pertuang), Orang caija Laxamana, Orang caija Siamer Wangsa, Orang caija Paducca Sirij Deuwa, and Radja Deuwa of the one part and the Dutch with the commissioners and ambassador from the Governor General, Joan Maatsuijker in Batavia, Jan van Weesenhage of the other part.

(322) 1. That the Dutch in Andragierij shall live under the oversight and protection of the two brothers Jang de Pertuang and shall be protected against all annoyance from those who might cause them any annoyance or harm.

2. First of all it is decreed that the Dutch in Andragierij shall be allowed to trade with all who are disposed thereto both great and small.

3. It is decreed that if anyone wishes to buy piece goods, no matter who he may be, great or small, he shall be bound to pay a sufficient price for them and according to the market without making any trouble for the Dutch thereover.

4. Moreover that the Dutch shall not be compelled to give credit to any except of their own free will without any trouble being made for them thereover.

5. It is also decreed that all the pepper in Andragierij may be bought by the Dutch and no others whether English, to whom not one grain of it shall be given or sold by Jang de Pertuang the two brothers or other merchants than to the Dutch aforesaid, but if any wish to buy Andragierij pepper, they shall be obliged to take it to Batavia or Malacca; the Dutch must not oppose this, but in such a case pepper, to the amount of 10 to 12 picols to a vessel shall be taken out of the ships by the merchant of the factory to be paid for at Batavia or Malacca according to the market price of Andragierij. And, if the remaining pepper is not taken to Batavia or Malacca, the amount withheld shall be forfeited or, should the vessel be wrecked, then said pepper shall be either restored or paid for. However, if anyone (323) attempts to buy his pepper in some other way without the knowledge of the shahbandar, and the Dutch know of it, they shall make it known to the two brothers Jang de Pertuang, when said pepper shall be forfeited.

6. It is also decreed that if any Dutch, Chinese, blacks or slaves take refuge with the two brothers Jang de Pertuang or with any other great men, either by reason of debt or of some misdeed, such persons shall be restored to the Dutch by the two brothers Jang de Pertuang and, if any subjects of Andragierij take refuge with the Dutch, the Dutch shall in like manner restore them to Jang de Pertuang the two brothers.

7. Above all if any slaves of the Dutch run away, the person who brings them back again shall be given  $2\frac{1}{2}$  maas; if the slave is possessed of any property amounting to 1 teijl or 16 maas, it shall be forfeited, but anything he may have above 16 maas shall be restored to the Dutch. In like manner runaway slaves of Andragierij who have been acquired by the Dutch shall be paid for but this applies to runaways from Batavia or Malacca who arrive here from those places, but not to those who are caught on the way from Batavia or Malacca to Andragierij; these are to be the property of the captor whether Dutch or of Andragierij and forfeit to him.

8. Moreover all subjects under the rule of the Honourable Company who may come to Andragierij shall be under the jurisdiction of the superintendent (*opperhoofd*) and of no other, but if they do not obey the superintendent and he makes complaint to Jang de Pertuang the two brothers, he shall be assisted by them.

9. Moreover, if the Dutch wish to dwell here in Andragierij permanently, Jang de Pertuang the two brothers, (324) shall give them a license for the construction of warehouses and dwellings built of wood and roofed with tiles and surrounded with a bamboo pagger [fence] and grant them a suitable site for this purpose, close to the river and far away from other houses because the Dutch are afraid of fire.

10. Moreover, the two brothers Jang de Pertuang undertake to appoint an honourable and suitable person to receive the gold, who shall have as pay from the Honourable Company one bouson or  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a maas for each teijl and he shall be surety for the quality of the gold and, if it is discovered that it is alloyed or debased with copper or lead, said receiver shall not only be punished with death but in addition all his property shall be confiscated and handed over to the Honourable Company.

11. Moreover if the Dutch overpower or destroy any vessels belonging to Andragierij and murder the crew and seize their goods, the Governor General shall do justice therefor, even to the death penalty, if the crew is killed, and have restitution made of the property, that is missing, from the ship that has been guilty of the crime. The people of Andragierij shall do in like manner.

12. Moreover if Jang de Pertuang the two brothers desire to send any vessel to Siam, Cambodia, Pattanij or Borneo, the Superintendent of the factory shall grant them a pass therefor, but if they wish to proceed further, they shall get a pass from Batavia or Malacca.

13. Moreover if the Dutch do amiss by assaulting any women and they give the alarm and the husband, father or brother discovers them making any such attempt, in such case, the offender may be killed by any one of these and he shall not be tried for it, much less if the offender was caught in the act and so struck down; but, if the woman is spared, she shall be executed by the verdict of Jang de Pertuang the two brothers as this is the custom of Andragierij.

(325) 14. Further if any women by day or by night either nobles, persons of state, free or slaves seek out the Dutch and are caught in the factory, no punishment shall be inflicted but the factory shall be wholly free therefrom.

15. Moreover if any slaves belonging to Andragierij run away from their masters and take refuge in the factory and their masters when making enquiry of the Dutch about them are put off by denial, if they afterwards are discovered there, the person detaining said slave, male or female, shall be made to pay double price for his person provided that the slave shall then remain with the man paying the price; but, if not, if the slave was bought for 2 taijl, he can be paid for with the like sum, which is the law

of the two brothers Jang de Pertuang. In like manner the people of Andragierij shall be bound to pay to the Dutch.

16. Moreover if a yacht comes into the river here, it shall pay 500 reals on its cargo for dues and 5 teijl or 80 re<sup>s</sup>. for rouba rouba and ounis ounissan, that is one piece of each kind of cloth; and on a ship 1000 r<sup>a</sup>. [in dues], 10 teijl or 160 r<sup>a</sup>. for rouba rouba and ounis ounissan and similarly, one piece of each kind, and those payments shall release the Dutch from all other dues and this shall be paid when the ship or yacht is fully laden, but, if it has not a full cargo, an agreement must be come to as to payments by Jang de Pertuang the two brothers and the merchant and assistant of the factory.

17. Further all small matters and questions stated in this document shall be settled by Jang de Pertuang the two brothers and the merchant and assistant of the factory and, if they are settled by money payments, they shall (326) be executed by Jang de Pertuang the two brothers and the merchant and assistant of the factory. But other punishments, as putting in irons or in the stocks or in chains the two brothers Jang de Pertuang shall hand over to the merchant and assistant of the factory for execution there.

Made in the country Andragierij the 27th October 1664 (having on the vacant space at the foot) the seal of the king in black, and below, the signature Jan van Weesenhage and in the margin in red sealing wax the seal of said Wessenhage in place of the Company's seal.

The people of Johore claim that the Honourable Company is greatly indebted to them on the ground of their having to some extent helped in the conquest of Malacca, wherefore they occasionally bear themselves very proudly and imagine that no demand of theirs ought to be refused, however, so as not to get involved with them in any disagreement or estrangement, we have indulged them as far as has been possible or expedient, especially in exempting the vessels of the king and nobles from dues when they come to this place to trade or pass on their way elsewhere. However their greed has carried them so far that they ventured to declare that the vessels and goods of the Moors and others trading in Malacca and Johor were their property, in return for a present which they received from the same people. This we resisted (when we became aware of it) by making them pay Malacca's dues (327) and we consider that it is necessary for you to pursue the same course, so that the same may not, by being once allowed, become a custom and an ordinary practice.

Johor as previously indicated, was destroyed by the Jambinese in 1673 and the king with all his subjects went to settle in Pahang, a place belonging to his kingdom situated on the mainland 36 miles to the north of the Straits of Singapore. There he died at a great age without leaving children and his

cousin succeeded him in the same place. He is said to be busy getting Johor once more inhabited and even to fix upon it as his capital. This new king has announced the death of the other in a letter, which the taxamana (living on the island Bintang which is well populated) has also done; he is an old man of great authority. We answered both these letters on the 9th of February last and have promised at a convenient time, to send a person of quality to the king to congratulate him personally and to renew and confirm the alliance, peace and friendship always maintained between Johor and Malacca. This has up to the present been put off, but must now be carried out by your Honour at the first favourable opportunity and at the same time his Majesty must be informed of my departure to Batavia and of your Honour's arrival as Governor here. This should be written also, when opportunity offers, to all neighbouring kings and princes especially those of Pera and Andragierij.

No written treaties made with Johor since the conquest of Malacca are found in the secretariat here, there is only a contract as to the escape of slaves of either party, who must be released (328) provided that payment is made of half their value calculated at 20 re<sup>a</sup>., which is seldom done. The enmity between Johor and Jambij still goes on; it arose in the first place from a broken marriage between the young king of Johor and the daughter of the king of Jambij. On this account Johor still keeps many warships in readiness, on the designs of which a close watch must be kept, so as not to be surprised by them here, for the Johorites are not well disposed to Malacca and must rather be regarded as false friends. However, all enmity must be avoided, as far as possible, especially now we are at war with the Manicabers, so as to give them no cause for going to the assistance of these latter.

Bencalis which is, as before mentioned, a dependency of Johor, lies on an island about a mile from Sumatra and is a mere fishing village. The people there have a shahbandar as chief over them who looks after the affairs of the king of Johor. Although it is only a fishing village, it is much frequented by Malays, Javanese and Moors who foregather there for trading purposes from the Javanese coast, Palimbang, Jambij, Andragierij, Aatchin, Queda, Pera, Calang, Johor, Pahang, Pattanij, Cambodia, Coetchin China. The Manicabers who live in Sumatra also appear there in large numbers, and get a great deal of salt and rice, and also fish which is caught there mostly at certain times of the year by the Saletters, a Malay tribe of very uncivilised people, who live with their wives and children in their vessels among the islands roving hither and thither. This fish, as well as its fine roe, is dried and salted and the natives are very keen after it. (329) The roe is used by us and the Portuguese as a good side dish, for instance with wild boar. They are caught and salted down by these same Saletters at special times when they are in the

1927] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

water in large numbers and are swimming from one island to another, greatly to the convenience of the Christian inhabitants here, who buy the fish there at a low price and bring it here, as also said boars' fat (*het smeer van de verkens*), not only for their own use but also to sell again here. Our garrison here spends money on it, so as to get food cheap, which we also were recently compelled to do for the Honourable Company, because there was no meat or bacon here and issued it for the victualling of the ships. Each Siamese pot, holding on an average 30 lbs., costs 1 rd<sup>r</sup>, in addition to the pot and the salt furnished by the Company itself; this salt pork keeps for about six months. This great traffic and trade at Bencalis plainly prospered at the expense and to the injury of Malacca, so I made provision against it during my governorship by introducing the old customary right of this Reformed town and fort not allowing any vessels to harbour there unless provided with the Company's passes. Those actually belonging to men of Johor and voyaging only to Bencalis are allowed there without passes, as also the Manicabers who live in Sumatra and come from the rivers Siaka, Campar and Raccan, except those laden with tin. It would be inconvenient for these situated so close to Bencalis, if they did not wish to go further than that place, to come here first to fetch a pass; but all vessels of any importance making for Bencalis from other places, even if provided with Company's passes, must first come to Malacca and pay their dues there, and then permission is given them to voyage thither. In order to carry this out, we have kept sloops cruising to the south and north of Bencalis to cut ships off from approach thither and to bring them here. By this means the extraordinarily great traffic to that fishing village has been greatly reduced and Malacca's revenue much increased. This practice must be continued, provided the roadstead and river of Bencalis are left inviolate by the seizure of (330) vessels that have escaped our cruisers.

Moar and Rio Formosa, both having convenient rivers, the former 6 and the latter 11 miles to the south of Malacca and, as mentioned above, also subject to Johor, are fertile lands whence our inhabitants derive great advantage in supplies of paddy, rice, small cattle [pigs and goats] and fruit, daily voyages there and back being made on both sides. Since the Jambinese overthrew Johor by surprise and the king after his flight became apprehensive about these possessions of his, he placed them under the protection of Malacca and their Honours in Batavia have granted our request to be allowed to take them over and, if the Jambinese are disposed to hostilities yonder, to keep them away by force, if friendly means do not avail. But hitherto they have not come in any strength and have been there with only a few vessels and although they had formerly done some pillaging at the mouth of the river and on the shore, they forthwith went off again to avoid being caught by our forces.



Dillij, Tanjong, Raccan and Pannaeij situated on the East coast of Sumatra are also places from which Malacca derives advantage through the import of rice, paddy and wax. They are constantly in need of salt, which the Javanese who come therewith from their own country to Malacca, supply to them in sufficient quantity and if they demand to go thither have passes granted to them. When they have done their business there, they return here and then go back to Java.

These same Javanese voyage also with passes from us to Pera, Oedjang Salang and Bangarij, whither they also take salt, sugar, onions, leeks and various small wares [pedlar's wares], which they barter for tin to be delivered to the Honourable Company for 40 re<sup>s</sup>, the bhaer, as is done at Pera out of respect for our blockade there, but not at Oedjang Salang and Bangarij aforesaid, whence they sometimes go to Aatchin and Tanassirij with their tin instead of coming here. There they sell it to the Moors and are paid by them in piece goods, wherewith they betake themselves to their own country going by way of the West of Sumatra through the Sunda Straits so as to avoid Malacca from fear of being overtaken by our cruisers and fined for not carrying out the conditions of their passes. In order to prevent such action we have enjoined them to deposit in the hands of the shahbandar before their departure to those places, some money, viz. 40-50 re<sup>s</sup>, which is restored to them on their return, but if they do not return, is forfeited to the Company. This practice must be continued, since the Javanese are suitable persons to collect (331) that mineral in the tin districts where they traverse the whole country with their wares like a pedlar with his pack.

In order to prevent ships and vessels from passing Malacca without first calling there and paying the customary dues, the Straits must be constantly occupied and patrolled by yachts and sloops, the number of which and of those for use before Pera and Queda together with those sent to Andragierij and Siam, Cormandel and Bengale has been taken by us in 1675 at, in sum, 4 yachts, 7 sloops and 4 rowing boats manned by 295 men in all. The following plan was sent to their Honours in Batavia which should still be persisted in so much the more as the closing of the river Panagie has since then been undertaken by reason of the war with the Manicabers.

Plan of the yachts and sloops with their size and ratings which in times of peace are needed and should be maintained in the straits of Malacca and in the blockade of Pera and Queda on the lowest and most economical footing possible, to wit:—

In order to maintain a constant patrol to the South and North of Malacca, on the coast of Sumatra and round about Bencalis and elsewhere on the look out for foreign vessels, so that they do not pass Malacca without having first touched there and paid the customary dues:

4 sloops of 6-12 tons and 4 rowing boats manned in all by  
50 men

For patrolling during the Southern monsoon in the months of May, June and July on the look out for Portuguese ships, as liable also to Malacca's tolls, coming from Goa, Cormandel and Bencalé and on their way to Maccauw and Manilla, as also, during the northern monsoon, for patrolling on the look out for Portuguese ships going from those places and Siam to Goa, Cormandel and Bencalé and to many other places on the coast during the months of November, December and January:

2 yachts fully armed, one of 120-130 (332) and the other of  
60-70 tons, the two manned by 120 men.

These yachts should also be dispatched once a year before the end of the northern monsoon to Cormandel and to Bencalé to help in the transport of those places of the cargoes from Japan, and the tin and pepper from here and also to bring back to Malacca thence at the due time, viz. in the month of May, the merchandise and necessities which we requisition yearly thence.

The same can also serve to take the necessary cargoes to the factory at Andragierij and to bring back pepper and gold thence. If need arises, they could also be employed to go to Batavia and also for fetching firewood and coral rock to set up limekilns of which we are in constant need here.

To keep up a continuous blockade before Pera, as is necessary in order to prevent the export of tin to places other than Malacca and to secure trade in it there for ourselves:

1 armed yacht of 50-60 tons and 2 sloops, for the manning of which and for the protection of the Company's residence on the island of Dingding situated before Pera there would be needed  
60 men.

To maintain a blockade before Queda for keeping away from that place Moorish ships unprovided with the Company's passes and, if they, as also the Portuguese, do come there, to make them pay Malacca's dues:

1 armed yacht of 70-80 tons and a sloop provided with  
65 men.

The same must be sent thither twice every year, viz. in the southern and northern monsoons. Each time on their return they can be employed with the others in the Straits.

The orders maintained at the present time in the Straits and along the southern and northern shore and now also given to the blockading force before the river Panagie are shown in the following:

(333) Order for our cruisers in the Straits between Cabo Rochado and the islands of Maria and Pittij, together with the passage to Rio Galere of Bencalis.

For the maintenance of Malacca's rights, which are necessary and have always been in force, the Straits here are patrolled and blockaded, both in the southern and northern monsoons in order that all ships and vessels desiring to traverse the same may not pass by without first touching there and paying the usual dues to provide for the great expenses which the Honourable Company incurs by keeping these Straits safe. However, the Honourable Company is sometimes not provided with the number of ships, yachts and vessels required therefor, wherefore the patrol has been subject to many changes with regard both to the ships and to the persons employed thereon and in consequence we have frequently been obliged to make use of the means (however small they might be) at our disposal, so as not to let aforesaid patrol fall into disuse, but as far as possible to keep it up, whereto then it is necessary that the commanders employed on the same should know what regulations to follow, therefore this our order given below shall serve thereto till further orders.

Firstly this patrol, consisting of 1 yacht and 3 sloops must be constantly maintained in the Straits (the same shall be duly blockaded), especially towards the time of the change of the monsoon, i.e. the months of April and October. The yacht shall be stationed at sea cruising to and fro between Cabo Rochado and the islands of Pittij but staying mostly at Poelo Pittij, because vessels which have no passes, frequently try to get through close under that island. The first sloop shall sojourn within the straits of Rio Galere, the second inside the Cape of Tandjong Jahatij which is the passage to Bencalis and the third within and to the north of the Johor passage, so called because the Johor vessels pass that way in great numbers, between the islands Tandjong Pantjor and Tandjong Parpar Serattas. Through this channel and the Brouwer strait there is much traffic to Bencalis.

You must allow no native vessels, even those coming with passes from Batavia, to pass unless they show you that they have touched here at Malacca. In the case of those alleging that they intend to proceed hither, if they are vessels of importance, especially Javanese or Aatchinese ships, you shall convey them as far as the roadstead; but in the case of those that have already passed by Malacca, whether they hold a pass from Batavia or the Company's residents in Japara, Palimbang, Jambij, Andragierij, Siam and Cambodia or not, you shall bring them up under arrest to be dealt with here according to their deserts. In the seizure and conveying of all such and other vessels, you shall take on board your own ship the nachoda or two others of the chief men taking care not to endanger the lives of any of our people in any Javanese, Malay or other ships, so that they may not be murdered by those reckless and proud people, as has happened in the past.

(334) The only vessels that may sail by Malacca, even if they cannot show any passes, are those of Johor voyaging to Bencalis, Siaca, Camphar and Raccan, since these are dependencies of that kingdom, but you must admonish them earnestly to provide themselves therewith in Malacca in future.

The roadstead of Bencalis shall be left inviolate and no vessels in it shall be attacked much less carried off by you, but the sloops may occasionally run in there to see and ascertain what vessels are lying there, but they must not board them for examination.

The Saletters or pirates who are always in this channel, of whom those from Queda are by no means the fewest in number, you shall, when you fall in with them, if you are certain they are pirates, take care to master and then bring hither. If vessels belonging to our inhabitants with cargo of importance on board beg for convoy hither from you from fear of attack by the Saletters, you shall grant their request and give the escort, but, when you come within sight of the roadstead, you must repair once more to your appointed place of patrol.

The captains or commanders of Portuguese and Moorish ships, yachts or vessels fallen in with by you must (as our good friends at the present time) be warned very courteously not to pass Malacca without calling there, and, in order to prevent this the yacht or patrol at Cabo Rochado shall sail with them to the roadstead, or, if they have already passed by Malacca, shall compel them to turn back thither (if it is more powerful and the master of them).

The English, who are fallen in with, must be spoken and asked quite amicably the name of their captain and of the ship, whence they come and whither they are going, as also their cargo and its amount; and further must, by fair words, be persuaded to come to the roadstead here, assurance being given them of a good reception, honour and friendship. An attempt must be made to dissuade them from passing by Malacca, but, if they will not listen and so do not touch here, but insist on pursuing their voyage without turning aside, you shall allow them to do so without hindrance and shall merely accompany them as far as across the roadstead and then leave them, when you shall land and report your meeting with them to us.

You are to remain on your appointed stations as long as your supplies last, because we can always summon you by one ship or another, if your earlier return hither is necessary.

When the time its provisions will last is nearly up, the yacht shall load up the empty space with firewood got at Cabo Rochado or Poelo Pittij and bring the same to us here.

The commanders shall keep good order among their men and not allow them to treat the natives on the vessels met with and other people with discourtesy, much less to damage their property,

allowing each and all who prove that they have touched here to go their way undisturbed.

The people of Maccassar have broken the peace with the Honourable Company, therefore you must attack at sight (335) all vessels manned by such or belonging to that place, if you see you have a good chance against them. If you prevail, you must bring them here under arrest with their cargo untouched, to be duly dealt with here.

So that no vessel of any importance nor any men of Macassar get past you without having first come on board your ship and proved that they are our friends and have touched here, you shall have all vessels you fall in with spoken and if any, whether Malays, Javanese or our own inhabitants, try to pass you without speaking or hailing you, you shall have one or two blank shots fired over the vessel as a signal to come to you. If it does not heed nor come to anchor, you are authorized to fire on it with live shot and so compel it thereto, especially if you perceive that they are large vessels.

As concerns small vessels, which are open and undecked, or praos, you may let them pass unmolested without forcing them to come to you.

The men, whether one, two or three in number, whom you remove from the ships for security to the yacht, or still more to the sloops, to bring hither together with their vessels, you must have well guarded; not even the smallest chance must be given them of doing you harm or taking advantage of you; for those people are wholly untrustworthy and make nothing of killing our men, if they see any opportunity of doing it; as was proved to our regret, when a Malay, taken recently from a vessel into *De Pot-fisch* killed one and seriously wounded two of our men and then sprang overboard, loosened the keel of said sloop and got away with it, thereby escaping with his vessel laden with tin, to the disgrace of our men and the disrepute of the Honourable Company; wherefore in future better care must be taken. Relying thereupon we commend you to God's holy care.

Malacca, the 21st Nov. 1668. Subscribed: your friends (signed)

Balthazar Bort, Johannes Massis, Hadriaan Schimmel-  
penning van der Oij, Abraham den Bak, Adrian  
Lucasz., Nicolaas Muller and Jan Joosten Bal.

Order for our patrol along the south and north coast of Malacca from Cassang to Cabo Rochado, whereby they must regulate their action.

Whereas we find that the channel here is becoming more and more the haunt of rascals and thieves who, when they meet those who are too strong for them, represent themselves, under one false pretence or another, as honest folk, but, for all that, when they have the chance either on (336) land in the orchards or at sea by

night and in the dark, not only thievishly rob our inhabitants of their property, but also (which is still worse) villainously murder them and so deprive them with their worldly goods of their precious lives to the great grief of their wives and children, whom they often have here, as has occurred several times in the past, and again not long ago at Boacras (situated about three miles to the south from here). Now recently on the 23rd August it has happened again that one of our fishermen's praos was attacked close by here by wicked men of this kind without any reason by a fraudulent trick and two men in the prao were so badly hurt that one died of his wounds a few hours later; therefore, being sensible of this injury done to our inhabitants, as a protection for them and all other people constantly voyaging to and fro here for their business and trade or otherwise in the pursuit of their calling, and to clear these Straits, as far as possible, of such rascals, who otherwise (without such provision being made) would make it very unsafe, we have decided to have always patrolled by one or two sloops, according to circumstances, the Straits about and along the shore appertaining to the territory of Malacca, that is (according to its extent and as it is reckoned) southwards to Cassang and northwards to Cabo Rochado. So that said patrol may know on what rules to act and what it has to do, the following articles shall serve thereto as an order.

Firstly, said sloop or sloops shall constantly cruise up and down between said Cassang and Cabo Rochado and always keep round about and close to the shore or where the praos of our inhabitants mostly lie or other vessels pass, that is, if the sloop or sloops can be kept there without great risk when strong winds are blowing from Sumatra or elsewhere.

All passing praos and vessels, whether they belong to our inhabitants or to strangers, must be hailed in all friendliness and the character of the same inspected. The people here round about and near or coming from any other places and having cargo on board with which they wish to sail here, must not be detained, much less rudely treated, but only admonished with fair words to pursue their voyage hither without deviating from their course. If said patrolling vessels are rendered suspicious in the case of any such persons by their speech or otherwise that they might perhaps in the end choose another harbour than this, then such vessel or prao, whether one or more, shall be convoyed to this roadstead.

All Malay, Javanese and other like vessels appearing to come from Malacca and to wish to go to other parts, if they are not provided with passes from us, must be stopped and brought hither in the most convenient way. (337) If, however, they produce passes, they shall then be allowed to go their way unmolested.

But the Moors, Malays and other such peoples, whether inhabitants of Malacca or strangers, who hereabouts and thereabouts fetch wood, stone or other necessities with their praos or vessels,

are, on each occasion, provided by the saabandar here with a permit for that purpose and, on their producing it, when met with, they must be allowed to go on with their work in peace. Any not provided with such a permit shall be arrested with their praos or vessels and brought hither, without injury however to their persons or goods. The black inhabitants here, as others of the Portuguese race, when they sail out to sea to visit their plantations or for other purposes are also given a certificate by the shabandar valid for a whole month, but no longer, which said patrol must demand from them and examine and, if any are not provided with one or if it is more than a month old, such persons must be warned, the former that they must in future provide themselves with one, and the latter that they must fetch a new one and see to getting it or else that in future they will be arrested and complaint made to us.

Our said patrol shall allow our fishermen well known by their praos and fishing tackle to go their way and shall give them help when needed.

All praos and vessels which are manned by Saletters, Malays, Javanese, Manicabers or other such people and are met with by any islands or channels, creeks, rivers or streams (*spruijten*) without a pass and provided only with arms, but without goods or cargo, shall be brought hither under arrest, but without any harm being done to the persons or property of the people in them, for those rascals, of whom previous mention has been made, almost always voyage thus on the look out for an opportunity of practising their knaveries. If such suspects are unwilling to come hither and take to flight (as they commonly do), they must be pursued and an attempt must be made, at first by firing over their vessel, to force them to return, but, if they pay no heed, and do not turn back, then they may be fired at with live shot until they come to our sloop or sloops and surrender, for the very fact of flight then makes them suspect. They must then, as aforesaid, be brought here.

Said patrol must also be careful that no persons on the passing praos or vessels with cargo on board provided with permits suffer the smallest harm or loss at the hands of our men, but are always well and civilly treated. Those, however, who, in spite of this, should be the first to commit an act of hostility, ought to have no consideration, but must, in such case, be forcibly withstood.

(338) Everything stated above we recommend all those who shall be employed in future on the patrol hereabouts and along the shore to apprehend well and to have in due regard, so that no abuses may be committed. The action to be taken in all other matters can be further discovered in the orders given once for all to the patrol on the east coast of Sumatra, with which each sloop is provided, whereto further reference must therefore be made (*daar ons dan wijders aan gedraagen*).

Malacca, the 19th Sept. 1668. Your friends (signed) Balthazar Bort, Johannes Massis, Hadriaan Schimmelpenning van der Oij, Abraham den Bak, Adriaan Lucasz. and Jan Joosten Bal.

Order for those employed on the blockade of the enemy Manicaber river, Pannagie, *i.e.* the commanders of the yacht *Diamant* and the sloop *Omrust*.

The only damage we have hitherto been able and still are able to inflict on our enemies, the Manicabers of Nanning and Rom-bouw and also of Songoedjong and neighbouring places has been the blockade of the river Pannagie about four miles from here, which must be kept up, since they would otherwise, if it were left open, be able to secure the importation of provisions by it, from all of which we must cut them off, so as, if possible, to reduce them to want, famine and distress, until we shall be able to fall upon them with armed forces and destroy them root and branch. Wherefore you must always stay in the said river, allowing no vessels to pass in or out by the barricade of palisades we have already had made about two miles from the mouth of said river. All vessels you can capture, you shall treat as enemy vessels (except those belonging to our inhabitants who are busy there fetching wood from the jungle and doing other duties, these men you must protect against our enemies), all such enemy vessels you have thus got into your power you shall send, with their cargoes and crews under arrest to us. If, however, the crews are too numerous for you to spare the lives of all except at risk to your own, then so many of them may be dispatched and killed as shall be necessary.

You must see to it that you are constantly on your guard and in an attitude of defence, always keeping all your guns, both large and small, and your muskets quite ready, so that, if you are yourselves attacked by the enemy, you may be able not only to resist but also to get the better of him, whereto you must show unflinching (339) courage and bravery, thereby gaining honour and promoting your advancement.

Nevertheless you must not go past the said barricade nor land to do damage to the enemy, unless you have received beforehand our express order, for the enemy might be too powerful for you there.

If they come to you with a flag of truce, you shall confer with them, and send them to us, but be very careful that they do not deceive you under a show of friendship and play you some evil trick, which they commonly do, if they see a chance and opportunity thereto.

When you are in need of provisions, let us know by the sloop, we will then provide them. The sloop must also be sent when you have need to send a letter to us.



Malacca, 14th Feb. 1678 (Subscribed). Your good friends  
(signed), Balthasar Bort, Adriaan Lucasz., Govert du  
Lavay, Cornelis Verburgh, Abraham Burgers and  
Jacob Snickers.

The strait of Sincapura and thereabouts by the point of Barbaquet used formerly also to be patrolled by Company's ships with the object of overpowering the junks and vessels of the Koxinga Chinese [*Cokchinse Chinesen*], who are still our enemies, on their passage to Johor and, since, as before stated, the destroyed town of Johor has been again taken possession of and re-peopled by the king, it might happen that these enemies of ours might undertake the voyage thither again. If your Honour becomes aware of this, then two or three light yachts must be sent in the northern monsoon to said Barbaquet, situated to windward of the river Johor, to watch for and to seize the same. All other junks from China, Japan and Manilhas must be kept away from Johor and brought to Malacca to trade there and to deprive Johor of that traffic.

Our instructions, given in 1667 for the patrol in those parts run as follows:—

Instructions for the commanders of the ships and sloops which are sent to the Strait of Sincapura to cruise there round about the point of Barbaquet against the enemy Chinese junks.

The junks and vessels manned by Koxinga Chinese [*Cokchinse Chinesen*] from Formosa, Taijoan, the coast of China, Ainam, Tonquin, Quinam, Cambodia, Siam, Pattani, Manilla and elsewhere not provided with passes and safe conducts from our officers, (340) which you may meet and fall in with, you shall regard as enemies and try to overpower either by arms or by any other skilful means, in such wise as shall be best adapted to the occasion, avoiding all killing in cold blood, but, if they actively resist, they must not be spared and no more must be left alive after they are overpowered than you can master. You must prevent all plundering so long as you have not got the enemy completely into your power and even then you must not allow the crew to do more than common plundering of things sewn up (*daer de naalt door gegaan is*); you must prevent their opening any chests, cases, canisters (*canassers*) and other closed articles, much less the hold, in order to lay hands on the cargo. So as the better to prevent this, immediately after the victory you shall nail up and seal the hatches so that they may come here in that state, or else at a convenient opportunity be opened yonder by you and everything duly inventoried and handed over on your return here.

But all junks and vessels belonging, not to the jurisdiction of the Koxinga Chinese (*Cokchinders*), but of our friends the Tartars, when you meet them whether you have passes or not, you shall try to persuade amicably or by friendliness to come here,

and, if they agree, you shall accompany under pretext of escorting them and see them contentedly depart from the coast of Johor. When they are considerable distance away, you shall admonish them to sail on to Malacca, or even come with them yourself, according to what weather and circumstances make advisable and you decide, telling and assuring them first and all the time that they will be allowed good trade there and that favour will be shown them. But, if they, notwithstanding, obstinately refuse to go to Malacca and fully intend to go to Johor, you shall not prevent it by force and shall allow them to go their way without doing the least harm to their persons or depriving them of their goods, which you are earnestly charged to prevent.

So as to be able to recognize and distinguish between the Tartars and the Koxinga Chinese [*Kokchinse Chinesen*], you will have to mark this fact, viz. that the Chinese who have yielded themselves to the rule of the Tartars, as a sign of this, wear their hair shaved or cut short up to the crown of the head, where the whole of it is kept in a long plait or in an unplaited tress hanging down to the back or fastened up in the Tartar fashion. Very often they wear Tartar caps of plaited rush or straw adorned at the top with a tail of red horsehair or silk. (341) The Koxinga Chinese [*Kokchinse Chinesen*] have thick, long hair fastened up at the back, but, to escape recognition, they now sometimes show themselves shorn Tartar fashion, but they do this only at the moment they catch sight of our ships. Of this we had an example in the Eijtan junks caught by our patrol in the neighbourhood of said Barbaquet in 1662 and you must keep it in mind and take good heed so that they do not deceive you.

Chinese who wear their hair long but live in Batavia, Malacca, Palembang and Jambij, Tonquin, Cambodia, Siam and Patani, if they can produce passes, when met with in their junks and vessels, you must allow to pass unmolested whether they wish to go to Johor or Malacca, but, if they have no passes, you must arrest them and send them hither, treating them, however, not as enemies but as friends and taking good care that the people on board are not injured in their persons or deprived of their property. If they are on their way here for trade, they also (like the Chinese under Tartar rule aforesaid) shall be allowed to proceed and not be treated as enemies.

You shall endeavour merely to speak all Javanese and Malay vessels you see yonder and allow them then to proceed unmolested and treat them as friends, whether provided with passes or not or whether they wish to go to Johor or come from there.

Portuguese ships and vessels from Maccauw, Cambodia or elsewhere appearing yonder on their way to Goa or other places, since we are at present at peace with that nation, you shall merely admonish not to sail past Malacca without touching there to pay the customary passage money. You are not empowered to aban-

don your station in order to accompany them. Even if they are determined to go to Johor, you shall put no hindrance in their way, but you may advise against it and in favour of sailing to Malacca as a better trading place, where they will be well treated and received.

You shall be on guard against the English, with whom we are now at war, as open enemies of our country and shall see to being always ready for battle, if you meet them; if you see a chance of beating them, try to do it. If, under God's blessing, you succeed, you must allow no plundering, but must send the ship, crew and goods under arrest here to Malacca; if, however, they are (342) too strong for you, you must take care to evade them in the most seemly way.

We are at present at war with the people of Macassar also, and if you meet with any yonder, you shall take care to overpower them too, but use discretion and be on your guard against their desperate *amok* attacks, so that you may come to no harm either before or after the capture. According to report six Macassar vessels are lying at Johor [up the river], where you must not molest them, but, if they depart and you see them at your station Barbaquet, you shall attack them as enemies, dealing with them if defeated as prescribed above in the case of other enemies.

A junk belonging to Siam made its appearance in the Johor river on the 10th Dec. last; if you happen to meet with it on its departure thence and it can produce a pass from our superintendent in Siam, and even if it has no pass, if it can prove to you conclusively that it belongs to Siam and is manned with Chinese living there and with Siamese, you must allow it to pass unmolested. But, if you find that it is a Koxinga (*Coksins*) interloper, you shall bring it here under arrest.

It may happen that some of the people of Johor may come to you to ask questions and spy on you, in which case you are to tell them quite frankly for what purpose you have been sent, but point out that you leave the Johor river and harbour alone and do not interfere there; for that reason you shall watch for and attack our enemies the Koxinga Chinese (*Cokchinse Chinesen*) at sea and must treat them [the Johorites] in a friendly and courteous way.

They have at present many vessels fitted out for war and were recently engaged in fighting with the Jambinese, with whom they are at strife. If they come to urge you to join with them or to give them any assistance, you must courteously refuse, giving as your excuse that you are not empowered thereto, have no orders and must not trouble yourself with their dispute either on one side or the other, but must remain neutral. Nevertheless keep well on your guard against them and give them no opportunity of doing you any harm, if they have any evil intentions. We are, however,

unwilling to credit them with such, since they are the Company's old and faithful allies. You must therefore not be the first to give offence, but must show them all friendship.

(343) During your sojourn before Barbaquet, you shall cut against the time of your leaving that place as much timber and crooked wood (*cromhout*) as you can store of such kinds as the note given to you by our equipage master indicates, so as to come hither with your hold filled therewith.

For the purchase of provisions when you get the chance, we give you 50 Spanish reals and 6 p<sup>a</sup>. of Guinea cloth, of which you have to give good account on your return.

In conclusion we recommend you in all cases to deliberate well and consult duly with the others, joining with yourself for this purpose such persons as the general orders indicate; to administer justice according to the content of the same in all civil cases; to keep good order among the men under your charge, to see that they have their ordinary rations and to prevent all excess in strong drink. On your return here you must make us a good and honest report of everything.

The above gives the content of the latest instructions given on the 9th Jan. last to our patrol ships when departing for above mentioned Barbaquet. There has been very little change and addition made up to the present and the commanders, viz. Dirk Vandervel, the captain, and Jan de Looper, the bookkeeper, who have now been sent thither with the yacht *Alkmaer* and the sloop *De Goede Hoop* shall regulate their action by and adapt themselves completely to these instructions, following them all as promptly as shall be in any way feasible and practicable.

	Sailors	Soldiers	Guns
<i>Alkmaer</i> aforesaid has on board	22	7	12
<i>De Goede Hoop</i> „ „	14	5	6
Together	36	12	18

They are both provisioned for three months. We reckon that you will be able to hold out till the 30th April, however you are authorized to leave your station and come hither on the 15th of that month.

You shall instruct the mate Steven Claarbout, whom we have appointed as commander to the sloop *De Goede Hoop* to make soundings in all directions of the reef which extends seawards from (344) Barbaquet and to have the same marked on a large scale chart with the neighbouring coastline, islands, rocks and so on, as far as it may be possible to do so conveniently.

In conclusion we wish you success on this your voyage and a safe passage there and back, (Subscribed) Your good friends (Signed), Balthasar Bort, Joannes Massis, Hadriaan Schimmel-

penningh van der Oij, Abraham Denbak, Adriaan Lucasz., Nicolaas Muller and Jan Joosten Bal. (In the margin) Malacca, 26th Jan. 1667.

I judge the previously specified naval force to be sufficient for the patrolling and blockading of the Straits here and also for the necessary dispatches of ships for the furtherance of trade and such purposes in a time of peace with the European nations, and, although the Malacca garrison is somewhat weak, it can make use of this naval force in case of necessity. When, however, there is war with these peoples, we ought to have a somewhat more formidable force here in the Straits for both offensive and defensive purposes.

At present our State is still at war with France, but the shipping of that country coming to these lands is not so numerous as to cause us alarm and they have never yet come into the Straits here.

We may hope to remain at peace with the English and Portuguese, however, if we should go to war with them again, they would not fail to navigate these Straits, if they realized that we were not strong enough to do them harm, in which case a stronger naval force must be maintained here.

A *recueil* of the proceedings of the Commission of our directors to England, containing the most important of the transactions in and during their mission in 1674 and 1675, I attach hereto for your Honour, to be read and preserved by you and handed over to future governors, as enjoined by the order of their Honours in Batavia issued to me in 1676. You will see from this document that the said commissioners could not come to an agreement with those of the English Company about the making of new trading regulations in these Indies after much debating and disputing (345) over the right to blockade and close certain places, also of the private, exclusive and separate contracts as to the purchase of all or certain sorts of wares produced by a country to the exclusion of other [nations].

They decided therefore not to make any commercial contract, but that both Companies should continue their trade in peace and quiet without doing each other any harm or injury or defrauding each other of their rights or dues, both sides having to regulate their action according to the marine treaty recently concluded by his Majesty and the States General.

Regulations agreed to between the King of England, Charles II, and the High and Mighty States General touching the English and Dutch East India Companies.

Whereas by the ninth article of the treaty concluded by the most illustrious and powerful Prince and Lord, Charles II, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and the High and Mighty States General  
[1927] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

of the United Provinces of the Netherlands at Westminster on the ninth of February (old style) in the year of our Lord 1674 [Old Style 1673], it was agreed among other things that Commissioners to be appointed by both parties should meet in this city of London for the purpose of deliberating and agreeing upon articles to stand firm and endure for the satisfaction and security of the subjects of both parties whereby a just and reasonable regulation of the trade in the East Indies might be established in which assembly of the Commissioners however nothing certain could be fixed and determined but since it is unquestionable that it is in the highest degree to the advantage both of public peace and of private (346) interests that the closest friendship and the most eager desire to embrace each other with reciprocal goodwill should flourish between the Companies of English on the one side and Dutch on the other trading in the East Indies it has this day been resolved and agreed between us the Commissioners named below of His Majesty aforesaid and of the said States General in virtue of the full powers conferred on us respectively thereto that both the Companies shall bear themselves peaceably and friendly towards each other also that each shall further the honour and advantage of the other and foster and preserve everywhere a faithful and friendly neighbourliness according to the treaties between His Majesty aforesaid and the said States General already made or to be made at any future time and that His Majesty of the one part and the States General of the other will enjoin this earnestly on each Company respectively and will strictly demand its observance from each but should any dispute arise between above named Companies (which it is hoped will not happen) or if any loss injury or violence should be inflicted or should be alleged to have been inflicted by the one Company or by any persons under the jurisdiction of either of the Companies upon the other in this case be it forbidden that the one Company should have recourse to violence or any hostile acts of any sort or kind against the other such disputes shall however in no wise be subject to the vexations of the law court or the examinations of a legal process but the matter itself shall be brought before His Majesty aforesaid in person in the case where the Dutch Company is aggrieved and before the States General above named where the English Company is aggrieved but if right and justice be deferred and delayed beyond six months after such complaint (347) has been lodged and the aggrieved but if right and justice be deferred and delayed beyond six whole matter shall *ipso facto* devolve in virtue of these presents upon eight Commissioners to be nominated by the two parties four of whom shall be appointed by His Majesty in the name of the English and four by the States General in the name of the Dutch which Commissioners shall meet together within three months of the expiration of the time set for the interposition of a decision of His Majesty on the one hand or of the States General on the other and whatever it may be that said Commissioners or a major

city of them shall deem right to be decided judged or determined that shall by virtue of these presents have the force and effect of a judgment and final settlement without any appeal reduction petition or other relief whatsoever ordinary or extraordinary and His Majesty for his part and the States General aforesaid for theirs undertake and engage by mutual obligation that they will in all sincerity see to it that such judgment decision or determination is carried out in all its details and duly put into execution.

It has also been agreed that London shall be appointed as the first meeting place for such Commissioners and if other Commissioners should be needed for the settlement of new complaints they shall meet at the Hague on that occasion and in this way the two places shall successively alternate but if it should happen that the Commissioners or a majority of them do not agree on a decision which must be finally produced by them within three months counting from the date of the first meeting then the Commissioners themselves shall choose an arbitrator or referee for themselves within (348) the space of one month after the expiration of said three months to settle and finally determine all points left undecided by them and everything that such arbitrator or referee shall propound shall take the place for each party of a final judgment and transaction.

And His Majesty and the States General aforesaid promise for themselves and respectively undertake that they will cause the judgment and decision of the arbitrator or referee whatever it may be to be carried out in full and effectively executed that if neither such Commissioners nor a majority of the same agree and decide upon an arbitrator or referee within one month after the expiration of the time in which they ought to have disposed of the dispute or if the properly appointed referee himself has not given his decision on the points left undecided within six months after such appointment the final determination of the matter shall in such cases be in the hands of His Majesty and the States General aforesaid and whatever shall be decreed or determined shall be exactly and fully executed.

Lastly it is agreed and concluded that the present clause and each and everything contained in it shall as soon as possible be ratified and confirmed and that the ratifications thereof shall be reciprocally and duly exchanged by the parties within two months from the date of these presents and within one month after such exchange of ratifications it shall be deposited in proper (349) and authentic form with both the Governor of the English Company trading throughout the East Indies on the one hand and with the Directors of the Dutch Company trading throughout the East Indies of the other part to the end that it may be observed and carried out in every particular by them and by all others living respectively within their jurisdictions and under their power. In witness and confirmation of each and all of which we the Com-

missioners of His Majesty above named and of the aforesaid States General by virtue of the sufficient power given to us for that purpose have signed our names to these presents and have sealed them with our seals.

London March 8 1675 [1674] (Old Style). Tho. [T.] Culpeper, C. Douweningh [Dowing], Richard Ford, Willem [Will.] Thomson, Johannes [Johanes] Jollis [Jollife], J. Corver, C. Sautijn, Samuel Beijer, And. van Vossen, P. Duvelaar [Duvelaer], M. Michielsz [Michielzon].

All the above was already written down in readiness before your Honour's arrival here in person on the 30-31 Aug. last by the yacht *Nieuw Noortwijk* and the small yachts *Bantham* and *De Hoop* bringing to us from their Honours the Governor General Rijklof van Goens and the Council of India their letter of the 12th of the month of Aug., containing among other matters some new orders. I shall in the following set them down briefly for your Honour's guidance, warning you that, if anything stated above does not agree therewith, this their Honours' order must be preferred and carried into effect.

By their letter of the first of June last their Honours have given orders to Governor Jaques Caulier and the Council at Cormandel to grant no passes to any Moors for their sea-going ships and, (350) if they nevertheless venture to come hither without being provided therewith, their ships and cargoes are to be seized here and retained, the holds closed and sealed, the keys there together with their oars and sails are to be kept on shore and their Honours are first to be informed thereof and their decision as to disposal thereof awaited. However, if passes have been wrung from our officers at Cormandel by the Moorish regents or if they have secured themselves by getting English or Danish safe conducts they must be suffered for that reason, but in that case they are liable immediately on their arrival to the payment of 20% on import and export.

Moreover the burghers and inhabitants of Malacca shall not go to the undermentioned places except with Company's piece goods bought and paid for, which they must prove by a note from the head merchant and the cashier, viz.:

Johor	Siaka	Queda
Pahan	Rio Formosa	Pera and
Assahan	Moar	Oedjang Salangh.
Campar	Calangh	

(351) Voyaging is prohibited also to Andragierij, Palimbangh, Jambij and other places to the eastward thereof, especially the coast of Java and Banjermassingh, similarly to Aatchin, but the voyage direct to Batavia without touching at any other places is allowed on the conditions and under such penalty as shall be stated in the passes. Before their departure the owners and skip-



pers and also the crews shall be informed that the office at Andragierij has been separated from Malacca and placed under Batavia again by their Honours, whence the ship *De Batavise Coopman* should be sent shortly with such wares, provisions and other necessities as our people at Andragierij have demanded. Their Honours will then also make their dispositions as to the services there, and the improvements asked for by the bookkeeper and second in command, Pieter de Jongh.

At Oedjang Salang and Bangarij their Honours would fain see us in a position to get sole control of all the tin found there, to the exclusion of all others, but, since those lands belong to the Siamese king, who also appoints the chief ruler there and consequently this privilege cannot be obtained except from his Majesty in Siam, we wrote in our letter to the Company's chief the honourable Dirk de Jong and the Council, sent thither on Sept. 10th by the yacht *Muijberg*, as to this matter and recommended that this privilege of exclusive trade should be asked for from his Majesty and also exemption from dues for the Company's merchandise taken thither and exported thence. We wrote to them also that, should his Majesty grant this request in whole or in part, presents should be made to him, in moderation, above all that he should be rather seriously urged to exclude (352) other Europeans, as English, French, Danes and Portuguese, also Moors, Aatchinese and men of Queda together with Malays and Javanese arriving there without Company's passes. It would, however, be inadvisable to press this too hard against the people of Tannasserij, if his Majesty is seen to be disinclined, since they are his own subjects and should be able to share the tin trade with us. It does not seem that the Honourable Company would ever be able to carry on a profitable trade there without this privilege, even if a blockade, similar to that begun in 1670 yonder were again undertaken there for a year or two.

We have also recommended that binding and valid orders as to the privileges secured touching this matter should be issued by his Majesty to the regents of Oedjang Salang and Bangarij and sent to you translated, so that you also may know their contents. The result of these recommendations you will learn on the return of said *Muijberg*; by the same ship you will get the woodwork, coconut oil and some other stores which we requisitioned in our letter of 17th June last, and wrote by said *Muijberg*; to have sent in preference to the 200 loads of rice asked for.

All the pepper brought here and bought, their Honours desire in future to be retained for the Honourable Company and dispatched to their Honours until further orders.

Their Honours have requisitioned 30 loads of wheat from here, but the burghers have not at present so much in their possession, contrary to the report made to their Honours, so your Honour must be pleased to bear in mind, since the same must in

future be secured, to buy it up at a reasonable price and send it to their Honours, provided it is good, sound and worth the money, (353) It should be possible to spare a certain amount of the 24 loads with which the Company's storehouse is provided, but it is mostly spoiled, so that their Honours ought not to be served with it.

Their Honours have consented to have silver ducatoons and gold Japanese coebangs accepted here in the Company's treasury and issued therefrom, the former at 12 shillings (*Schellingen*) and the latter at 10 re<sup>s</sup>. a piece. This has already been made public by proclamation and by placards; at the same time warning has been given to take care that the same are of the due alloy and weight, since it has been found at Batavia that coins have been struck by Chinese or other rascals, which were faulty in both these respects.

No second in command may henceforth be deprived of his office and sent to Batavia before and until their Honours have been acquainted with the reason and their decision has been received, unless he has been convicted of serious crime or of infidelity and private trade, in which case their Honours will await his arrival with the evidence and documents referring to the charge against him.

The skipper Barent Visser came hither with your Honour to undertake the office of equipage master, which he has already entered upon; he is at the same time overseer of the Company's works and workmen, as was skipper Steven Claerbout aforementioned, who is now on the point of departing to Batavia with me by the yacht *Nieuw Noordwijk*.

So. Jacob Snickers has now been promoted to and confirmed in the office of chief merchant by their Honours with a salary of 60 gldrs a month and will, as head of the pay office, have to keep the day-book thereof.

(354) Their Honours have been pleased to appoint Adriaan Wijland as storekeeper and in his place as shopkeeper Pieter van Helsdingen, whose office as license master is transferred to Jesias Schaap, all of them persons already mentioned, whom your Honour must, in fulfilment of their Honours' orders, be pleased to induct into their respective offices, causing them to transfer to each other the Company's property under their administration, and choosing as warehouse master, in place of said So. Schaap, such person as your Honour shall judge fit.

Their Honours maintain and judge that all things can be fitly managed here and the service of the Honourable Company in all departments performed by the following persons:

- 1 Governor,
- 1 Chief Merchant, who must himself keep the books,
- 1 Captain of the Garrison,
- 1 Merchant and Shahbandar,

- 1 Merchant and Fiscal,
- 1 Equipage master,
- 1 Merchant, the head (*booft*) of the pay office who must keep the daybook himself,
- 1 Merchant, the Superintendent (*opperbooft*) of Pera, all members of the Council, including the last named when here, together with
- 1 Junior Merchant as Secretary.

In the Secretariat.

In addition to aforesaid junior merchant and secretary,

- 1 First Assistant as confidential clerk, together with
- 5 Assistants.

(355) In the Trading Office.

- 1 Junior Merchant and Warehouse master, who must be the deputy of the chief merchant,
- 1 First Assistant and
- Another Assistant.

In the Pay Office.

In addition to the chief of the same

- 1 Deputy, who should be a bookkeeper in rank and
- 5 Assistants, among whom must not be included any temporary or young assistants.

In the Excise or Custom-house.

In addition to the shahbandar,

- 1 Junior Merchant as exciseman, the one not being in command of the other, but both on an equality and under the direct orders of the Governor.

The Treasury.

- 1 Junior Merchant as cashier

The Equipage Yard.

In addition to the Equipage Master

- 1 Writer

The Provision Store or Issuing Warehouse.

- 1 Junior Merchant as storekeeper and
- 1 Junior Merchant as shopkeeper.

(356) The Office at Pera.

- 1 Merchant as Superintendent (*booft*)
- 1 Junior Merchant as deputy for the Superintendent
- 1 First Assistant
- 1 Assistant as bookkeeper of the yacht stationed there.

In Permanent Command of the Military.

In addition to the Captain

- 1 Lieutenant and
- 2 Ensigns.

Their Honours have given orders to send all above this number to Batavia as soon as they can be spared, which your Honour must be pleased to do. The present excess in number is 8 writers. (*pennisten*), to wit:

In the Secretariat	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
In the Customhouse	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
With the Shopkeeper	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
With the Cashier	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
With the Storekeeper	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
With the blockade before Pera	..	..	..	..	..	..	2

In the Malacca consignment of tin received from the returning fleet in 1676 at the Amsterdam offices of the Company, after an assay was taken of one block of tin weighing 53 lbs it was found to be 13 aas too light throughout, each aas one gl: in the hundred, making /13 to the 100 lbs. This block of tin No. 3, together with another, No. 2, was sent back to Batavia by the ship *Ternate* in 1677 and brought here with your Honour to demonstrate the fraud and falsification practised in said tin and to have a strict investigation made to discover by whom and in what way it (357) was done, so that in future the tin received may be carefully examined and only genuine tin may be accepted. This is the first time that the tin has been found at home to be thus falsified, not only the block in question but various others as well and that by the other offices of the Company in addition to the Amsterdam office. As to this many complaints have been made which caused much annoyance and loss and the tin might be brought into disrepute if this practice were continued, so that both our lords and masters at home and their Honours at Batavia must earnestly recommend and enjoin that this be put right. These two blocks of tin have therefore been examined by us with attention and are thought to be mixed with lead; this is a practice of the Malays at Bencalis, where we are now informed that lead is brought from Cambodia. This must be prevented by careful examination on delivery and we have already given orders to this effect to the chief trading merchant and his deputies and the same must further be issued by your Honour to Pera and other places where there is trade in tin.

With reference to some matters touched on by their Honours in the aforesaid letter and also some, of which no mention is made, some questions and considerations have occurred to us both in and out of the Council, viz.:

# I

What action should be taken concerning the passage of the Moors through the Straits here, on the way to places other than Malacca, without Company's passes.

## II

Whether those provided merely with passes or other safe conducts from the English, Danes or Portuguese should be allowed to trade here in Malacca.

## (358) III

Whether the export of the Moorish piece goods still in the possession of our inhabitants should be allowed to the permitted places, as also trade in such piece goods as might be brought here by the Moors who have passes which they have extorted from us.

## IV

Whether anyone wishing to voyage to the permitted places without Company's or Moorish piece goods, but with other goods, such as salt, rice, iron pans and porcelain ware, should be allowed to do so.

## V

Whether pepper, which the people of Palembang are allowed to export to Aatchin and elsewhere to the amount of 1000 picols, should be accepted, if they, although holding Company's passes for that purpose, nevertheless call here and are disposed to deliver their pepper to the Honourable Company provided they get the price ruling at Batavia.

## VI

Whether copper and spelter should all be bought in for the Honourable Company and others should be forbidden to buy it, as your Honour has testified to being now done at Batavia.

## VII

Whether the memorandum for the shahbandar and his deputies, sent from Batavia in 1668 by the Supreme Government there and inserted above, should, after being read in the Council, be altered, because these words have been added in their Honours' letter touching the shahbandar and license master: "The one not being in command of the other, but both on an equality and under the direct orders of the Governor."

## VIII

Whether the temporary and young assistants at present doing their service here should be dismissed, because in their Honours' missive it is expressly stated that (359) among assistants appointed to the pay office there shall be included no temporary or young assistants.

What discussions, arguments and decisions have been carried on and taken on these 8 questions propounded is known to your Honour, resulting as follows:

I. That the passage of the Moors to places other than Malacca without Company's passes ought not to be allowed, but that their ships, when met with here in the Straits by our patrol,

should be brought to Malacca and kept there under arrest until information thereof has been sent to the Supreme Government at Batavia and their Honours' orders shall have been received.

II. That ships provided merely with passes or other safe conducts from the English, Danes or Portuguese and coming to Malacca to trade ought not to be allowed to do so, for there would never be any lack of passes from these people, if it became known that we respected such passes and the Honourable Company would be brought into contempt and these other nations would be highly esteemed; we are not bound to permit these [English, Danes and Portuguese] themselves to trade here, if it would be to our disadvantage, much less then such persons as may come to us merely provided with passes from them.

III. That the Moorish piece goods still in the possession of our inhabitants, as also such piece goods as are brought here by Moors holding passes extorted from us, may be exported to the permitted places provided they pay 10%.

IV. That anyone wishing to go to the same places with goods other than Company's or Moorish piece goods shall be allowed to do so.

V. That the Palimbang pepper shall be accepted at the Batavia price of 5 re<sup>s</sup>. the picol of 125 lbs. each, provided that, according to the usual custom,  $\frac{1}{4}$  real is deducted for dust, because the Honourable Company is now in need of it, and also in order to deprive the Moors of it, from (360) whom the Palimbang people would get all the piece goods they needed and take them to their country.

Nachoda Wiera Watchiama, on the 31st Aug. last arrived here with a vessel from Palembang provided with a pass from Sr. Joannes Schilhoorn, our Superintendent (*oppenbooft*) there, dated the 8th of the same month, granting him leave to voyage to Aatchin with his cargo of pepper; however in passing he touched here of his own accord and offered to deliver his pepper here to the Honourable Company provided he received the Batavia price of 5 re<sup>s</sup>., which is 1 re<sup>s</sup>. more than has hitherto been paid. After deliberation in the Council, it was decided to accept this offer, the payment being made one half in cash and the other in Company's piece goods, wherewith he was content on condition that he might spend the money on Moorish piece goods and export them to Palimbang, otherwise he intended to go on to Aatchin with his pepper. On our further consideration of the matter it was remembered and noted that the export of Moorish piece goods from this place to Palimbang is forbidden, but, if we refused permission, then the Honourable Company would lose the pepper and the Moors at Aatchin would get the advantage of it and it would be taken to Cormandel, Bengale, Suratta or Persia and in exchange for it, for the return voyage to Palimbang, a sufficient amount of Moorish piece goods would be

available. He was therefore granted leave to purchase the same here and export it on condition that he paid 10%. When he was informed of this and at the same time told that Company's piece goods were duty free, he preferred the Company's to the Moorish and spent his money on them. He delivered  $724\frac{3}{4}$  picols of pepper which were shipped on board the yacht *N. Noordwijk* to be taken to Batavia.

VI. That all copper and spelter brought here for sale should be taken for the Honourable Company and that the purchase should be forbidden to others, which is the practice introduced at Batavia.

(361) VII. That the before mentioned memorandum for the shahbandar and his deputies shall remain intact until their Honours at Batavia, on reviewing it, are pleased to make such change and correction therein as shall be advisable, the authority of the shahbandar and license master remaining meanwhile as it is at present.

VIII. That the temporary and young assistants here at present shall be retained on the ground that the Honourable Company derives better and more service from them than from some permanent assistants, who moreover earn larger salaries than the others.

I have with all possible speed made over and transferred to your Honour all the property of the Company here, consisting of its effects in cash, gold, merchandise, ammunition and instruments of war, provisions, equipage, goods, materials, tools and apparatus, together with all papers, books, letters and documents pertaining to the government and direction of Malacca, clearly set forth in the transfer and registers made thereof and handed to your Honour.

When the trade books were closed on July 31st last, I included in the account of the general estimated effects, the outstanding debts both in Malacca and Pera and Andragierij amounting to f842595.13.4. The chief assets still existing here at present consist of the following, to wit:

	52989.4	re <sup>s</sup> . cash ( <i>contant in paiement</i> )*
	4000	reals of eight in specie
	504	teijls in Ligor coinage
	1115½	teijls, by weight, of gold dust
	294043	lbs. of tin
	5035	lbs. of cloves
	432	bales of various kinds of piece goods, viz.
(362)	262	bales of bleached Guinea cloth
	107	bales of brown blue salempoeris

\*Perhaps this means "cash in good coin"; or, conceivably, in coins smaller than the real of eight.

	3	bales of bleached salempoeris
	11	bales of fine bleached moeris
	2	bales of sailcloth
	1	bail of tape leij de Coutchin
	6	bales of tape chindos from the coast
	1	bale of Sarassa leij de Coutchin
	1	bale of Sarassa gobars
	17	bales of black narrow baftas
	1	bale of half narrow baftas
	6	bales of wide black baftas
	1	bale of drogam gingham ( <i>gingan</i> )
	1	bale of silk chindos de 4 asta
	1	bale of silk chindos de 5 asta
	4	bales of committers
	3	bales of caijm goelongs
	5	bales of tape grandos
	4	bales of tape quitchil
	5	bales of negros cloths
190479		lbs. of assorted iron
1608		lbs. of steel
14472		lbs. of lead
1529 $\frac{1}{4}$		reals weight of silver work
26		pieces of various kinds of carpets ( <i>alcatifs</i> )
110		ells of satin ( <i>zatiijn</i> )
64		ells of camlet ( <i>greijnen</i> )
430		ells of various kinds of cloth
7		pieces of chergies
1		piece of perpetuano ( <i>perpetuaan</i> )
15		pieces of Bengal taffeta
30		pieces of Persian velvets
59		pieces of Persian brocades ( <i>brocados</i> )
218		pairs of coarse and fine cotton stockings
17		pieces of Bengal cassa
89		pieces of coarse and fine hats
6517		pieces of porcelain, various
1005		lbs. of red and yellow sheet copper
160		lbs. of cinnamon
210		lbs. of nutmegs

(363) After making which transfer, being on the point of departure to Batavia to become a member of the Supreme Government of India there by order of our lords and masters at home, I have introduced and made known to you as governor and director here the ministers [*i.e.* Government servants], subjects and inhabitants in the customary way and have also had the commission for that purpose given to you by their Honours the Governor General and Council of India publicly read to them and they have all undertaken to acknowledge, respect and obey your Honour as such on the oath by which they are each and all bound to the Honourable Company.



Just when I thought herewith to make an end, the so long expected yacht, *De Faam* returned from Andragierij on Sept. 18th, bringing with it 850 taijls weight of gold and 17652 lbs. of pepper, costing according to the invoice f52836.9.1 including the value of 4880 lbs. of pepper left behind at Andragierij, because the yacht could not take it in, to be sent on later without being taken into account.

The trade books of Andragierij, closed on the 30th of June last with a clear profit beyond all expenses of f9566.13.9, could not be entered in the completed trade books here in Malacca, closed according to annual custom on the 31st of July, because they arrived too late, so this must be done in the books of the current year.

The merchant and Superintendent (*opperhoofd*) there, Sr. Adriaan van de Walle died yonder on the 11th of May and the administration therefore fell to the bookkeeper Pieter de Jong and the assistant Anthonij Groeneweegen, who inform us in their letter dated Aug. 31st that peace has been maintained with the kings of Andragierij and Quantam and thereby (364) the trade, which had long been at a standstill, has been set going again. On receipt of the news of the death of the Superintendent Sr. Adriaan van der Walle aforesaid, taking into consideration the fact that their Honours at Batavia could not have had any knowledge thereof at the date of their dispatch of a ship thither and consequently that no orders can have been sent by them as to this matter and moreover cannot now be sent until the end of the northern monsoon next March or April and we dare not, without uneasiness, trust the administration and control there to said Pieter de Jong, who, though he has very great ability and dexterity therein, sometimes misuses the same owing to drunkenness, therefore we, after deliberation with the others in Council thereupon, decided to send the Secretary, Jan van Assendelf, thither in place of the Superintendent with the title of temporary merchant, in order to keep the office at Andragierij in good order and duly to advance trade there. He set out thither with the yacht *De Hoop* on the 14th inst., provided with a written order to this effect and letters to said Pieter de Jong and Anthonij Groenewegen and also to the king of Andragierij and the shahbandar, as your Honour knows, which are preserved in the Secretariat.

As, in consequence of this, the office of secretary has become vacant, the head clerk, Laurentius Schulerus, has been chosen and appointed thereto, since he has the necessary ability therefor and is of good behaviour. Your Honour will be pleased in due course to grant him a clever youth as head clerk.

(365) Two Moorish ships have meanwhile arrived here, one from Paleacatte on the 19th Sept., named *Brugge*, or in the Moorish tongue, *Ilhaij* (? *Ilhalj*), with a pass from Governor

Caulier dated July 5th last. The cargo consists, according to the manifest, of:

- 70 parcels and 7 cases with various piece goods
- 8 loads of rice
- 12 picols of steel
- $\frac{1}{2}$  load of salt
- A parcel of earthenware cooking pots

This same ship had left here on the 27th Feb. 1677 after getting a pass from us, valid only for a voyage to Aatchin and no further, but according to the declaration of the Dutch pilot on board, Claas Stolkvelt, it did not direct its course thither but to Porto Novo, which place however could not be reached, so it went to Paleacatte and thus infringed the conditions of our pass. On the arrival of this ship, since we did not know on what grounds said Heer Caulier had granted the same a free conduct hither, contrary to the orders of their Honours the Supreme Government of India at Batavia sent to him and the council at Cormandel on June 1st last, as stated above, therefore said ship was put in arrest with intent to await the decision of their said Honours with regard to it or whatever else should seem advisable, if information touching this matter should reach us from said Heer Caulier. This did happen on the appearance (*paresse*) of the yacht *Schieland* from Cormandel on the 25th Sept., for we found from the copy of a letter of 29th July written by said (366) Heer Caulier and council to their Honours at Batavia, that, on payment to the Honourable Company at Paleacatta of 100 pagodas for infringing the aforesaid pass granted by us, a free conduct was given to said ship before the arrival of aforesaid order of their Honours at Batavia and was not afterwards withdrawn from fear of lessening respect for the Company. This therefore moved us also to release this ship from arrest and to allow it to trade on this voyage.

The other ship arrived from Porto Novo on Sept. 23rd, bringing with it a pass from said Heer Caulier dated 14th June, when their Honours' order not to grant any passes cannot have been received, wherefore this ship was also allowed to trade. The cargo consists, according to the manifest, in:

- 240 parcels of various coarse cloths
- $2\frac{1}{2}$  coijangs of rice
- 20 bladders of lamp oil
- 15 picols of tamarinds (*tamarijn*)

These ships must, according to the new order of their Honours at Batavia, pay 20% for entrance and clearance of their cargoes, which the nachodas have already been told and a protest has been lodged by them against it, on the ground that, since they were not warned of it on their departure for this place, they ought to be liable only to the former 13%.

The crews of these ships say that three more Moorish ships are to come hither this season (367) as well as five to Aatchin and two to Queda, all from Porto Novo aforesaid.

Wherewith I conclude and wish your Honour in all your doings for the service and advantage of the Honourable Company and the welfare of your Honour's person and family the generous and good blessing of God Almighty and remain

Your Honour's friend to command

(signed) BALTHASAR BORT

(in the margin)

In the town and fort of Malacca, 6th Oct.

1678.

### Notes.

Aatchin, Aetchin, Atchin, Achin, Acheen (properly Acheh, the nasal final being due to the influence of a Portuguese peculiarity), a state taking in the NW. corner of Sumatra, but formerly supreme over a considerable part of the East and West coasts of the island besides claiming suzerainty over Perak.

Aatchinese: the people of the above mentioned state.

adap: Malay *atap*, "roof" and particularly a roof of palm-leaf thatch, hence also the pieces of thatching used for such a roof. An *atap* (commonly "attap") house is one that is usually constructed of very perishable materials (wood, plaited bamboo, or even bark) and covered with such a thatched roof.

Aetchin *see* Aatchin.

Agua de Loupa: a point on the Malacca river, seemingly about halfway between Malacca town and Alor Gajah. There was a chapel there. The name looks like a corruption of Guadalupe, the name of a mountain range in Spain.

Aijer Itam: Malay *ayer bitam*, "black water," a small river and hamlet about 14 miles roughly NW. of Malacca town and near the seashore.

Aijer Tower: Malay *ayer tawar*, "fresh water," a small river about 14 miles roughly ESE. of Malacca town and near the seashore.

Ainam: probably the island of Hainan off the S. Coast of China, but possibly Annam (Anam), an ancient Kingdom on the E. Coast of Indo-China.

alcatif: Arabic *al-qatîf*, "carpet with long pile." These might be of silk (either Persian or Indian), or cotton (from Ahmabad, Agra, etc.)

Andragerij, Andragierij: Indēragiri (from the Sanskrit *Indragiri*, "hill of Indra"), a river and territory on the East Coast of Sumatra, a few miles South of the Equator.

arack: Arabic *'araq*, "distilled spirits, arrack." The word has been adopted into Malay in the same sense.

ardias: etymology not ascertained; explained as "a species of dyed cloathing." They were made in Gujarat from stout calicoes woven in Northern India and shipped from Surat to Java and elsewhere. Apparently in the process of preparation they were dyed and beaten.

Arracan: Arakan (properly Rakhaing), the West coast of Burma from the Chittagong border of Bengal to Cape Negrais; formerly an independent kingdom.

Assahan: Asahan, a river and state in Eastern Sumatra about lat. 3° N.

asta: Malay *basta*, "a cubit" (from Sanskrit *basta*, same sense, defined as from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, therefore about half a yard).

atap *see* adap.

Atchin *see* Aatchin.

attap *see* adap.

bafta, bafta brootchia, baftas, baftas brootchia, baftas, beftas, beeutas: Persian *bafta*, "woven." Ordinary calico woven all over Gujarat, the word being also applied to similar Sind fabrics; made in pieces, 14-15 yards long, in two widths, narrow about 26 inches, broad about a yard; sold by the piece or by the corge (20 pieces); unbleached, bleached, or dyed in the piece; exported to most parts of Asia and for a time to Europe. About 1680 the Dutch were getting similar calico woven on the East Coast of India. Some, of somewhat superior texture, were made in the town of Broach (Baroch) in Gujarat. The price varied with the fineness of the yarns, the island markets took large quantities of the coarser grades. It was one of the great Indian staples, lighter in weight than the ordinary "Coast" calicoes from the East (or Coromandel) Coast of S. India.

Bale Panjang: Malay *balai panjang*, "long hall," a *mukim* or village about 2 miles NW. of Malacca town.

baloiijn, baloon: Marathi *balyānw*, a species of rowing boat.

Bandaer Galipha: presumably Malay (from Persian and Arabic) *bandar khalifah*, "the Caliph's port," and apparently identical with Tico (which *see*). There is, however, also a Bandar Khalifah on the E. Coast of Sumatra, between Deli and Batu Bara.

**Bandara Paducca Sirij Maradja:** Malay *Bëndabara Paduka Sëri Maharaja*, title of a high (usually the highest) minister of state (see paducca and Sirij). Dato bandhara, Malay *Dato' Bëndabara*, is a short form of the same.

**Bangarij:** a place on the mainland not far from Ujong Salang (Junk Ceylon) island. Presumably it is the *Bangri* (properly Bāng Khīr) which some maps place some distance N. of Papra (properly Pāk Phrah) Strait.

**banghsaal, bankshall:** Bengali *bangksbāl*, "harbourmaster's office" (probably from a Sanskrit compound meaning "trade-hall"). The Malay *bangsal*, "warehouse, shed," seems to come from this source.

**Bangsa Radja, Bangsade Radje:** Malay titles of Sanskrit etymology, presumably for *Bangsadiraja*.

**Banjernassingh:** Banjarmasin, a territory (formerly a state) in SE. Borneo.

**bankshall** see banghsaal.

**Bansade Radje** see Bangsa Radja.

**Bantam, Bantam:** Bantam (properly Bantën), a territory (formerly a state in the extreme W. of Java.

**Barbaquet:** Bërbukit, Mërbukit, Malay *bërbukit*, "hilly," a point on the SE. promontory of Johor not far from Pulau Tëkong and near the entrance to the estuary of the Johor river.

**Barnam:** Bërnām, a river on the W. coast of the Peninsula forming the boundary between the states of Perak and Sëlangor, about lat. 3° 51' N. at its mouth.

**Baros:** Barus, a place of the W. Coast of Sumatra, about lat. 3° N., best known for its exportation of the true camphor (Malay *kapor Barus*).

**Barotten:** Dutch plural of Portuguese *barrote*, "rafter, beam."

**Bataampa, Batouampa, Battoeampar:** Malay *batu hampar*, "flat spread out stone, bedrock"; the first two represent the name of a hamlet in Naning territory, about 19 miles N. by W. from Malacca town; the third a place where the Dutch Company had an estate (and therefore, presumably, in its own territory of Malacca).

**Batasauwer:** Malay *batu sawar*, "fish-weir rock," a former residence in Johor of the Sultans of that state.

**Batin Sape, Battin Sape:** Malay *batin*, a title and subordinate office, *sapi*, "ox." (The last part was the man's name, he being a minor chief among the aborigines or *orang bënua*, of Malacca territory).

**Batouampa** see Bataampa.

Battabrandam: Malay *batu bërëndam*, "submerged stone," a *mukim* or village about 4 miles N. of Malacca town.

Battantiga: Malay *batang tiga*, "three trunks (or streams)," a stream and hamlet on the seashore, 5 miles WNW. from Malacca town.

Battantongal: Malay *batang tunggal*, "solitary trunk," a place where the Dutch Company had an estate, unidentified.

Battin *see* Batin.

Battoecampar *see* Bataampa.

beeutas *see* bafta.

beftas *see* bafta.

Bencalis: Bëngkalis, an island lying about lat.  $1^{\circ} 30' N.$ ; due S. of Malacca and close to Sumatra, from which it is separated by Brouwer (otherwise Brewer) Strait. The chief place on it bears the same name as the island.

Bengaale, Bengale: Bengal.

beteelas, bethilles, Bettilles d'oirnael: Portuguese *betilba*, "veil," applied to the muslins from the Eastern Deccan (Golconda, roughly the Hyderabad State of to-day), exported mainly from Masulipatam, either unbleached, bleached, dyed or with printed patterns, to various places including the Malayan region (but not in large quantities, being rather superior goods). *Oirnael* probably represents the district and town Warangal in Hyderabad, as the form *oringal* is also found. Some *betilbas* also came from Surat and Bombay, others from Bengal.

bhaar, bhaer, bhar: Arabic *bahûr*, from Sanskrit *bhāra*, "a load." From the latter comes Malay *bahara*, and the various forms used in the Dutch text are used in the Malay sense of a unit of weight normally equivalent to 3 *pikuls* (*see* *pecul*). Nowadays the Malay *bahara* is standardized at 400 lbs. avdp. The Dutch reckoned it at 375 of their pounds, in certain cases; but for tin at Ujong Salang at 350 and for pepper at Indëragiri at 488.

bidoors: Malay *bidor*, a slab of tin, nowadays weighing about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. avdp; the Dutch reckoned it at 3 of their pounds.

Bilimbin: Malay *bëlimbing*, "ridged lengthwise," and also the name of several species of fruits. (In the latter sense it probably owes its origin to Southern India, as in several Dravidian languages the word occurs under forms like *bilimbi*, *vilimbi*, etc.) Hence the name of a *mukim* or village in Malacca territory, about 9 miles nearly due N. of Malacca town.

Bintang, Bintangh: Bentan (commonly Bintang), an island off the SE. end of the Malay Peninsula, for some time the seat of the Johor Sultans, about lat.  $1^{\circ} N.$

- bits: a small slab or ingot of tin used as currency at Junk Ceylon, 80 being reckoned as making up a *babara* (see *bhaar*). It would, therefore be about 5 lbs. avdp. if we took the *babara* at the modern standardized value. Apparently it weighed normally between  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and  $4\frac{3}{4}$  Dutch lbs. The name is almost certainly the same as that of the *viss* of Burma, which now weighs 3.652 lbs. avdp. (almost 3 lbs.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  oz.); Portuguese sources give intermediate forms such as *biça*, the ultimate source being the Tamil *visai*.
- Boacras: Malay *buah kēras*, "hard fruit," a kind of nut; name of a place in Malacca territory described as being 3 Dutch miles S. of Malacca town (therefore about 12 of our miles about E. of the same, as our text habitually speaks of E. as S., and W. as N., in relation to Malacca topography).
- boedjangs: Achinese *bujang*, "page, squire" (the same word as the Malay *bujang*, "unmarried, divorced, or widowed person of either sex").
- Boelongs: Bulang, an island off the S. end of the Malay Peninsula, S. of Singapore in lat.  $1^{\circ}$  N.
- boelongs: Malay *bulang*, "to wrap, wrapper, and in particular a kerchief."
- Bongarie, Bongerij: Malay *bunga raya*, literally "big flower" but actually the cultivated hibiscus (especially the red kind); name of a suburb of Malacca town towards the N., but E. of the river.
- Bonting: properly Bunting, Malay *bunting*, "pregnant," a small island being the northernmost of a little group known as the Bunting islands, off the coast of Kēdah, W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula, about lat.  $5^{\circ} 52'$  N.
- Bonuaes: Malay *orang bēnua*, "people of the country," one of the numerous Malay appellations for the so-called aborigines or uncivilized tribes of the Malay Peninsula, particularly applied to those of the South.
- Boquet, Bouquet: Phuket (commonly Puket, Pucket), a place and a small river on the island of Ujong Salang (Junk Ceylon).
- Borrewas: Malay *bēruas*, a certain shrub (*Premna cordifolia*); name of a small river in the N. part of the Dindings, about lat.  $4^{\circ} 30'$  N., and also of a village on its upper reaches in Perak territory. The district was a little state about the end of the 15th century and its name is recorded in Malay history.
- Boucquet China, Boukit China, Bouquet China: Malay *bukit China*, "Chinese hill, hill of the Chinese"; name of a hill just NE. of Malacca town, connected in Malay history with Chinese settlers of the 15th century and now containing many Chinese graves.

- Bouquet *see* Boquet.
- brootchia *see* bafta.
- Brouwer Strait: the strait separating Běngkalis (and other islands) from the E. coast of Sumatra (*see* Bencalis).
- Bruggestraet: "bridge street," a street in one of the suburbs of Malacca town.
- Bugis: the natives of part of the SW. peninsula of the island of Celebes, a race of great seafarers and traders.
- Cabo Rochado: this Portuguese name apparently means "cloven (*rachado*) headland," Cape Rachado, a promontory on the coast of Sungai Ujong (*see* Songhoedjongh), on the W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula, about lat. 2° 25' N. Its Malay name is Tanjong Tuan, "the master's cape."
- Cabon: Kěbon, a place in the region of the Tapong river, in the NW. part of Siak, which is a state of the E. Coast of Sumatra, about lat. 1° N.
- oadjanghs: Malay *kajang*, a number of strips of palm leaf tacked together and used as awnings for carts, boats, etc.
- Caffers: African negroes, probably slaves. The word is the Arabic *kāfir*, "unbeliever, non-Muslim."
- caijm goelonghs, caijm goelongs, cain goelongs: Malay *kain*, "cloth," *gulong*, "to roll, a roll." These are mentioned among the piece-goods from the E. Coast of S. India, but their precise nature has not been ascertained, save that Satow's *Voyage of John Saris* (p. 217) speaks of "Java girdles alias Caine Goolong."
- calambac: Malay *kělěmbak*, a fragrant wood, stated by Hervey to be the heart of the *kěmboja* tree (*frangipani*, *Plumiera acutifolia*), but identified doubtfully by Wilkinson with *Radix rhei*.
- Calang, Calangh, Callang, Callangh: Kělang (commonly Klang), a river and town in the State of Sělangor, W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula, about lat. 3° N.
- calij malical adul: Kali Malik-al-'adil, "the Kadzi of the Just King," Arabic title of an Achinese dignitary, originally the Chief Justice of Achin proper; but the office soon developed into an hereditary secular chieftainship. (The peculiar Arabic sound inadequately represented by *dʒ* and really a velarized variety of the *th* in the English "the" becomes *l* in several Indonesian languages).
- Callang, Callangh *see* Calang.
- Cammoij, Cammoy: Kamoi, a hamlet in Naning territory about 20 miles NNW. of Malacca town.
- Campar, Camphar, Campher: Kampar, a river and territory on the E. Coast of Sumatra, SE. of Siak, about lat. 1° N.



- Campo Clingh: Malay *kampong Keling*, "the Tamil quarter," in this case, of the town of Malacca, situated on the W. bank of the river.
- Cananga: Malay *kənanga*, a name borne by various trees and shrubs, particularly a tree with scented green flowers (*Cananga odorata*); a place NW., and not far distant, from Malacca town.
- Candam: Malay *kandang*, "cattle pen"; name of a hamlet about 4 miles NNW. of Malacca town.
- cangans: some kind of cotton goods from the E. Coast of S. India, but their nature is unknown, unless (as seems possible) the name is a mere variant of *cannakijns*, below.
- cannakijns: small, cheap pieces of calico (usually coarse), dyed blue, or occasionally black. They were made up in Gujarat and Sind from various calicoes, shipped from Surat, and distributed very widely (e.g. to Java, Sumatra, Macassar, Siam, etc.). The name probably represents Marathi *khandakī*, Konkani *khanḱī*, "a piece," modified by the usual Portuguese final nasal (as in Achin for Acheh, etc.).
- Capade moeda lilla: title of an Achinese dignitary. The last two words are doubtless *muda*, "young," and *lila* (Sanskrit), "charming," etc. The first word has not been traced.
- Capitayn Moor de Noort: title of a Portuguese official at Goa, presumably meaning Captain Major of the North (*capitām mor do norte*).
- capock: Javanese *kapok*, "tree cotton," used for stuffing mattresses, etc. The Malay name is *kabu-kabu* or *kēkabu*.
- caricams: some kind of piece goods from Surat, no particulars being available about them except that some of them were dyed red.
- cashee, cassa: Arabic *khāssa*, "special," a fine kind of muslin, from Bengal.
- Cassan, Cassang, Cassangh: Kēsang, a river about 20 miles E. of Malacca town and now forming the E. boundary of Malacca territory; also the region alongside the same and a *mukim* or village higher up the river, NE. of Malacca town.
- Catip Itam Moeda: Arabic *khatīb*, "preacher in a mosque," Malay *hitam*, "black," *muda*, "young"; title and name of a man.
- Cay allula: this title may be wrongly divided, it is possible that the first part may be *kaya* (as to which see *orang cacaya*). The rest is unexplained.

Celas leij de Coutchin, Chelas leij de Coutchin: probably Konkani *chêl* (from Sanskrit *caila*), "cloth"; the Malay *chele* is almost certainly the same word. According to one account celas (or chelas) were a kind of coloured cotton cloth, not so bright as chintz; but the name seems also to have been applied to thin white muslins. The rest of the name probably means "in the style of Cochin" (see Coutchin), the *leij* representing Portuguese *lei*, "law." (It can hardly be the Malay *hêlai*, *lai*).

Chelas see Celas.

Cherenapoetoe, Cherenepoete: Malay *chêrana puteb*, "white tray (or bowl)"; name of a hamlet in the *mukim* of Taboh Naning close to the boundary of Rêmbau and about 23 miles NNW. of Malacca town.

chergies: probably the same word as "serge," and therefore of woollen material and perhaps of European origin. The word is found in the *Dagb Register* of Batavia (1680) p. 759, *sergies de loudre*, received from Holland, (1681) p. 37, *chergie d'London*, sent to Ternate, which entries seem to confirm this explanation, *loudre* being presumably a mistake for *London* (London).

chiampan, sampan: Malay *sampan*, "boat," of various sorts and sizes. The etymology has been much disputed, some imagining it to be Chinese ("three planks"), which seems improbable. Recently a still more unlikely American origin has been suggested for the word.

Chiavonijs: uncoloured piece goods from the E. Coast of S. India. Hobson-Jobson gives *chavonis*.

Chim: Cheng, or Ching, a *mukim* or village about 5 miles NNW. of Malacca town.

Chincheeuw: Chang-chau not far from Amoy in the Chinese province of Fuhkien. This was the chief port of the province for foreign trade in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Chindos: possibly a fabric coloured chintz-fashion, so that the name might be regarded as a variant form of *chintz* (the Hindustani form of which is *chint*). But I am disposed to conjecture that we have here a modification, with a Portuguese termination, of the same word as the Malay *chindai*, "bright patterns in cloth," which (it has been suggested) may be derived from *Sindhi*, "of Sind." It is to be noted that some "silk chindos" came from Surat, which is consistent with such an explanation. On the other hand, *chindai* itself might be a variant of the same Indian word from which we have made *chintz*; perhaps this might be due to its passing through some South Indian language, e.g. Tamil or Telugu, and some chindos came from the E. Coast of S. India.

chits: Marathi *chit*, from Sanskrit *chitra*, "variegated, speckled."

The Portuguese and Malay forms are *chita*. These are printed or spotted cotton cloths, our *chintz* (which is apparently a plural based on the Hindustani form *chint*). The best came from the E. Coast of S. India.

Chormandel, Cormandel: originally Cholamandalam, the region ruled by the ancient Chola dynasty, round about Negapatam, but extended to the E. Coast of S. India generally. A mistake in spelling and a confusion between the Portuguese and Dutch values of *ch* gave rise to the form Coromandel.

Civiliaanse reals: dollars of Seville. Various corruptions of the expression are found, of which one (Civil) has been put into the translation as an English representative of the Dutch form.

Cleen Bretang: Dutch *kleen*, "little," Malay *bĕrtam*: a kind of palm (*Cugeissona tristis*), and hence the name of a river about 4 miles NW. of Malacca town and of two estates (the other being Groot Bretang) near its banks, and in modern times of a *mukim* and village of Bĕrtam on its E. side.

Cleen Cabaco: for *cleen* cf. the preceding note. The last half of the name has not been identified (a connexion with the Portuguese *cabaça*, *cabaço*, "gourd," seems just possible), nor has the locality of this estate been determined.

Cleen Pringij: for *cleen* cf. Cleen Bertang. The second half is presumably Pĕringgit (commonly Pringgit) a *mukim* or village 2 miles N. of Malacca town, of which "little Pĕringgit" probably formed part.

Cliban Cleene: Malay Kĕlebang Kĕchil, "little Kĕlebang" (commonly Klebang), a *mukim* or village 2 miles WNW. of Malacca town and bordering on its W. (by the Dutch author styled "northern") suburb.

Cliban Groote: Dutch *groot*, "big," Malay Kĕlebang Bĕsar, "great Kĕlebang," a *mukim* or village bordering on the preceding and about a mile further from Malacca town.

Clings: Malay *Kĕling* (commonly Kling), "Tamil." No doubt the name originally denoted the Telugus of Kalinga, the N. part of the Madras Presidency on the E. Coast of India (Northern Circars), but in the 17th century, as now, it was mainly applicable to the Tamil people of the S. part of that coast, from about Madras downwards, and of N. Ceylon.

Coast, Coast of India: *i.e.* the East Coast of S. India or Coromandel Coast (*see* Chormandel).

coebangs, coubanghs: Japanese *kobang*, an old gold coin, usually weighing 222 grains troy.

- Coetchin China: Cochinchina. But the name, now tending to be confined to the extreme SE. of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, formerly applied rather to the main part of the E. coast of the same.
- coijang, coijangh: Malay *koyan*, a large unit of capacity, viz. 800 gantangs (the gantang being 271.65 cubic inches or nearly 1¼ gallons in modern times, but varying somewhat locally); also a large unit of weight, the leading Malay variety being one of 40 pikuls (*see* *pecul*), which by modern standards would be 5333½ lbs. avdp. but in former times also varied.
- Cokchinders, Cokchinse Chinese, Coksins, Kokchinse Chinese, Koxinga Chinese: adherents of the pirate Koxinga and his successors, whose ephemeral kingdom based on Formosa (which Koxinga took from the Dutch) lasted from 1662 to 1683. They were largely partisans of the former Ming dynasty and were at war with the new Manchu dynasty (in the text called "Tartars"), which was at peace with the Dutch. At various times during the period with which our text is concerned they held Amoy and other portions of the province of Fukkien, but on a very precarious tenure, against the troops of the Manchu government.
- committers: some kind of cotton goods from the E. Coast of S. India. The word is perhaps derived from *kōmati*, the name of a trading caste in those parts.
- Commoij *see* Cammoy.
- Conanoor: Cannanore, a place in N. Malabar, on the W. Coast of S. India, lat. 11° 52' N.
- Condoor: Malay *kundur*, "the wax gourd," name of a hamlet about 8 miles WNW. of Malacca town.
- Cormandel *see* Chormandel.
- Cotta Rana: Kota Rēnah, a place near Kēbon (*see* Cabon). In Sumatra the word *kota*, "fort" (Malay from Sanskrit) often means no more than a stockaded village.
- coubanghs *see* coebangs.
- Coutchin: Cochin, a town and territory in Malabar, on the W. Coast of S. India, lat. 9° 58' N.
- cris: Malay *kēris*, "dagger," the weapon commonly known as "creese" (and other variant spellings).
- crusado: Portuguese *cruzado*, a coin "stamped with a cross." There was a gold cruzado, the value of which has been variously stated as 30/- and 9/9 (English money). About the middle of the 16th century there was in Malacca a silver cruzado worth 5 tangas or 360 reis, say 3/- (English money), (*Journal Asiatique*, Juillet-Décembre 1920, p. 87). By 1805 there was a "new cruzado" (*cruzado novo*) worth 2/8 and

two-fifths of a penny, and also an "old cruzado" (*cruzado velho*) worth  $2/3$  (English money). Probably the ones mentioned in the text were the silver ones, worth 5 tangas.

daats: steel-yard for weighing. The Dutch name seems to be an abbreviation of its Malay name *daching*.

Dabul: formerly an important port situated on the N. bank of the river Anjanwel in lat.  $17^{\circ} 34'$  N. on the Konkan coast, W. Coast of S. India.

dato bandhara *see* bandara.

demto: Latin *dempto*, "removed, taken away," in the text it means absent from a meeting of the council.

Dillij, Dilly: Dëli, a port and territory a little S. of lat.  $4^{\circ}$  N. on the E. Coast of N. Sumatra.

Dinding, Dindingh, Dingding, Dingding: the island known as Pulau Pangkor, which forms part politically of the territory now commonly called the Dindings, somewhat N. of lat.  $4^{\circ}$  N., W. Coast of Malay Peninsula.

Doedjong: Malay *duyong*, "dugong"; name of a river and *mukim* or village about 3 miles E. of Malacca town.

Dou Sontagan: name of a plantation somewhere near the E. bank of the Malacca river. Probably it stands for Dusun Tagan (or Tahan ?), as the Malay *dusun* means "orchard."

drogam gingan: a certain kind of piece goods; the first part is probably Javanese *dragëm*, "purple, dark brown," for the second *see* gigans. In these trade terms the order of the words is variable, owing no doubt to foreign influence, and no reliance can be placed on it.

drogams maleije: drogams of a kind preferred by Malays.

ducatoon: Italian *ducato*, Dutch *dukaton*; the coin referred to in the text was apparently the silver ducatoon, as it was to be current at 12 Dutch shillings (making 72 stivers or about  $6/6$  English money). In 1727 the dukaton was valued in Europe at 63 stivers only, about  $5/8$  English money, or a little more, but under 6/-.

dungaree: Marathi *dongri*, *dongari*, "a coarse and inferior kind of cotton cloth," apparently deriving its name (*dongari*, "a little hill") from *dongari killa*, Fort St. George, Bombay.

Eijtan: possibly this represents He-tan (Haitan or Chu Shan) island, off the E. Coast of China, somewhat N. of lat.  $25^{\circ}$  N. and not very far S. from Fuchau (Foochow).

f: written in the MS. as a long slanting line (like the old-fashioned long s) with a short line meeting it on the right about the middle. I presume this is an abbreviation of *florin*. Three of them went to the dollar (real of eight). *See* gl:.

fiscal: the Crown advocate, a sort of Attorney-General, taking his title from the *fiscus* or Treasury.

fisher's island: evidently Pulau Upeh (meaning in Malay "palm flower-sheath island"), which is 3 miles W. of Malacca town.

flute: Dutch *fluyt*, "a fly-boat."

Fotas, photassen: Persian *fūtat* (also in Arabic, but of doubtful origin, by some alleged to be Indian, and possibly therefore the Hindustani *phūṭā*, "variegated"), "a kind of striped Indian cloth from which trousers are made; a sash, a bandage; a wrapper for the body," (also Persian *fūta*, "a cloth which they wrap round the middle when going to bathe"—which is probably the same word in spite of the slight difference in spelling). Commercially, the word meant a long strip of cloth worn either as a turban or round the waist; it might be wool, cotton, or silk, and with or without gold or silver thread. In Dutch commerce it appears to refer to muslin from Bengal. The "photassen or negro cloth" would apply to a cheap grade.

Gaja Beram: Malay *gajab berang*, "furious elephant"; name of a hamlet on the outskirts of Malacca town, on the NW.

galliot: Dutch *galjoot*, from Portuguese *galeota*, "a light vessel.

gantangs, gantings: Malay *gantang*, a measure of capacity nearly equivalent to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  gallons. But it seems to have varied locally to some extent.

garras, gerras: Hindustani *gārbā*, "unbleached fabrics, which constitute a large proportion of the clothing of the poor"; also used for shrouds and for wrapping up parcels. They came from Bengal.

Gentoo: Portuguese *gentio*, "heathen," hence specifically used (as in our text) in the sense of "Hindu" (as opposed to Muhammadan or Christian); and still more specifically, in S. India, as denoting the Telugus and their language.

gerras *see* garras.

gingans, gingham: the origin of the name is in dispute (either from the French town of Guingamp or Javanese *ginggang*, Malay *genggang*, a kind of striped cloth. Probably the first etymology is the right one). They came mainly from Bengal, but also from Gujarat, under the same name, which suggests that it was a foreign one to India at any rate. Some were plain, others flowered, speckled, or striped; and though originally the fabric seems to have been a plain calico, which could be printed, it appears that the name also covered goods with woven patterns (whether in coloured yarns or not is not clear).

Gittij: a place, not identified, in the neighbourhood of Kēbon (*see* Cabon).

gl., gldrs, gls:: guilders, Dutch *gulden*, worth 20 stivers, about 1/9½ English money. For the more usual abbreviation *see* f. Three guilders were taken to equal the real of eight or dollar (*see* r<sup>n</sup>).

Goa: the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India and the East, situated somewhat N. of lat. 15° N., in the S. Konkan, W. Coast of S. India.

gobars: Malay *gēbar*, "sheet, counterpane of coarse white cloth"; but also of other material (*see* sarassa gobars).

godschie giutchie: some kind of piece-goods from the E. Coast of S. India, unexplained.

goerah: Arabic *ghurāb*, "raven; a kind of galley," with two or three masts.

gordel chindos: Dutch *gordel*, "girdle"; no doubt waistbands of variegated pattern, printed or painted (*see* chindos).

Groot Bretang: Dutch *groot*, "big" (and *see* Cleen Bretang).

Groot Cabaca: *see* the preceding and also Cleen Cabaco.

guinea cloth: almost certainly the same as what the English traders called "long-cloth," which was one of the four great staple export calicoes of the E. Coast of S. India, the others being moorees, percalles and salem pores. It was a stout calico, 37½ by 1½ yards being the standard size, and was sold unbleached or bleached, more rarely dyed or printed. It apparently owed its name to the trade opened up by the Portuguese between S. India and the Guinea Coast of W. Africa. Later on the Dutch took it up. (*See* also negro cloth).

Hoorn Chamber: Hoorn is a small town in Holland and was one of a limited number of towns which possessed a local Chamber of the Dutch East India Company.

Inar: Ina (in the local pronunciation), a hamlet on the Malacca-Tampin border, close to the Tampin Railway Station and situated about 17 miles (by road about 24 miles) nearly due N. of Malacca town.

India, Indians: these words have a somewhat more extensive meaning in Dutch than in English, including as they do the Dutch East Indies and their inhabitants, Malay, Javanese, etc.

Injate planks: perhaps the Malay *nyatoh*, a valuable timber tree, *Payena costata*. (But *see* also quiate wood, which last however is not indigenous in the Malay Peninsula, as Injate appears to have been).

Intje Cadaer, Intje Cadeer: title and name of a Malay, *Ēnche' Kadir* (*i.e.* Abdulkadir).

Jacatra: Jakatra, Jakarta, believed to be a corruption of Jayakarta, the name of the place where in 1619 the Dutch founded their new capital Batavia, in W. Java.

Jaffnapatnam: commonly Jaffnapatam, Jaffna, a place in the extreme N. of Ceylon, a little S. of lat.  $10^{\circ}$  N.

Jambij: Jambi, a river and territory on the E. Coast of Sumatra, between Indragiri and Palembang, its mouth being in about lat.  $1^{\circ}$  S.

Jambinese: the inhabitants of the foregoing territory or state.

Jan de Patuan, Jang de Pertuang: Malay *yang di-pertuan*, literally "(he) who is acknowledged as lord," the usual denomination for the supreme ruler of a Malay state. In the Indragiri contract, where mention is made of two brothers Jang de Pertuang acting on behalf of the titular supreme ruler, it may be doubted whether the Dutch version was not a mistranslation of an original reading "two brothers of the Yang-di-pertuan."

Japara: a port on the N. Coast of Java, about long.  $111^{\circ}$  E.

Johoor, Johor, Johore: Johor or Johore, the southernmost State of the Malay Peninsula, which however in the latter part of the 17th century included a larger territory than it does now.

Jonghsalangk, Oedjan Salangk, Oedjang Salangk, Oedjang Salangk, Oedjang Salong, Oedjangsalangk: Ujong Salang, commonly Junk Ceylon, an island off the W. Coast of Lower Siam (the long isthmus which leads down to the Malay Peninsula) in about lat.  $8^{\circ}$  N. The name is Malay, from *ujong*, *bujong*, "point," and *salang*, which has various meanings but in the present case is probably only a corruption of the Siamese name for the island, viz. Chhalang, with the variant Thalangk.

jure Panckelang, jure panckelangh: Malay *juru*, used in such combinations as this in the sense of "expert, person in charge," *pangkalan*, "quay, etc., from which people embark on boats or other vessels."

kadjangk: Malay *kachang*, a generic term including various kinds of beans, peas, and also in particular pea-nuts.

Kokchinse Chinese *see* Cokchinders.

Koxinga Chinese *see* Cokchinders.

krang: Malay *kérang*, an edible shell-fish, *Arca*.

Lada (island of), Poule Lada: Malay *pulau*, "island," *lada* "pepper," a small island forming part of the Lankawi group off the W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula, lat.  $6^{\circ} 12'$  N. and in the 17th century belonging to the state of Kédah (*see Queda*).

Laksamana, Laxamana: Malay *Laksamana*, a title roughly equal to Admiral, to which certain administrative and court duties on shore were also attached.

lantees: Malay *lantai*, "laths or strips of bamboo or wood such as are used for Malay houses in the country."



**Larot:** Larut, a river on the coast of Perak, W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula, about  $4^{\circ} 45' N$ .

**Last:** a Dutch unit of weight and ship measurement generally stated to equal two tons or 4000 pounds.

**Laxamana** *see* Laksamana.

**Lella Maradij, Lella Maradja, Lella Maharaja:** Malay *Lela Maharaja*, a title (both words being of Sanskrit origin).

**Ligoor, Ligor: Ligor,** the Malay name of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, a Siamese town and territory (formerly a vassal state), the town being near the E. Coast of the isthmus leading to the Malay Peninsula, about lat.  $8^{\circ} 30' N$ .

**Lilla Lahij Filalham:** Arabic *ḏillu-llāhi fi-l-'ālam*, "shadow of God in the world," a common title of Muslim sovereigns and in this particular case of the Achinese Queen Tāju-l-'ālam Salfatu-d-din, A.D. 1641-75.

**Lusitanian:** Portuguese.

**maas, mace:** Malay *mas* (from Sanskrit *masa*, "a kind of bean (*Phaseolus radiatus*), a small unit of weight"), a fraction (usually one-sixteenth, in some places one-tenth) of a *tabil* (*see* tael).

**Macassar, Maccassar: Macassar,** a port on the W. Coast of S. Celebes, a little to the S. of lat.  $5^{\circ} S$ .

**Maccauw. Macao,** a Portuguese settlement on the S. Coast of China, about lat.  $22^{\circ} N$ .

**mace** *see* maas.

**madaphon, modophons leij de Coutchin:** a check-pattern cotton cloth, made chiefly in Gujarat and shipped to Java and Sumatra. Those mentioned in the Report came (at any rate in part) from the E. Coast of S. India, and *leij de Coutchin* (as to which *see* Celas) seems to imply that they were of a kind preferred at Cochin, which is on the W. Coast of S. India. The name (now Madapollam, from Mādhavapalam or Mādhavāyapālem, a place on the Southern Delta branch of the Godavari, lat.  $16^{\circ} 26' N$ , E. Coast of S. India) is nowadays still in use but is applied to a cotton cloth intermediate between calico and muslin, plain white.

**Maharam:** Muharram, the first month of the Muslim lunar year.

**maincimentos:** Portuguese *mantimento*, "provisions."

**Mali:** presumably Malim, a village about 4 miles NW. of Malacca town.

**Mallebaer:** Malabar, the W. Coast of S. India. The modern District of the name extends from lat.  $12^{\circ} 18'$  to  $10^{\circ} 15' N$ . but probably the name formerly applied right down to Cape Comorin, about lat.  $8^{\circ} N$ .

Manicaber, Manicabers: natives of Menangkabau in the W. part of Central Sumatra and their descendants in the part of the Malay Peninsula that lies to the N. of Malacca, where many of them had effected settlements long before the end of the 16th century.

Manilha, Manilhas: Manila, commonly Manilla, the capital of the Philippine Islands, a little S. of lat.  $15^{\circ}$  N. But it looks as if the word, especially in its plural form, were used to cover the Philippines generally.

Maria *see* Pittij.

Marlimoen, Marlimou: Malay *mèrlimau*, a kind of wild orange, a *mukim* or village in Malacca territory on the sea-coast about 12 miles ESE. of Malacca town.

Martaban jars: jars of glazed pottery, and often of large size, made in lower Burma and formerly, for many centuries, shipped from Martaban, an old port near Moulmein, about lat.  $16^{\circ} 30'$  N.

Masulipatnam: commonly Masulipatam, a port on the E. Coast of S. India, a little to the N. of lat.  $16^{\circ}$  N.

Matchap: Machap, a *mukim* or village in Malacca territory about 13 miles NNE. of Malacca town.

Meetschiew, Met Schiauw: possibly Me Chao (which is, however nowadays an expression for the mother of a prince, and not for the mother of a Phra such as the Opra mentioned in the text).

Mehemeth: Mahmud, the last Malay Sultan of Malacca, from which he fled when it was conquered by the Portuguese.

Melecque, Melecse: Mëlëkek, a *mukim* or village in Naning territory, situated about 15 miles NNW. of Malacca town.

mentri: Malay *měntëri* (Sanskrit *mantri*), "minister of state."

mile: the dictionary estimates the Dutch mile as about three times the length of the English one; but in the text, so far as can be inferred from the distances given in round numbers, it appears to be about four English miles.

Moar, Moor: Muar, a river and territory bordering on Malacca territory to the Eastward and at its nearest point about 17 miles E. of Malacca town.

modophons *see* madaphon.

moeri, moeris, moories, mouris: one of the four great staple calicoes of the Coromandel Coast (E. Coast of S. India). It was finer and dearer than Guinea cloth (or long-cloth), in size 9 by 1 yards, unbleached, bleached, or dyed, and was widely distributed in Asiatic markets, but not in great quantities, being probably too dear. The quality varied with the fineness of the yarn, and the finer grades ranked with percalles

(*see percallen*) and were presents for minor kings. Malay has the word (*muri*), but the ultimate derivation is uncertain.

Mompēt: the first part of this seems to be Mom (a Siamese title nowadays borne by the wives of princes, but it does not appear that Mompēt was a woman). The second part may be the Siamese word for "diamond."

Monschicuw, Ommonschieuw: probably Momchao, a Siamese title nowadays borne by grandchildren of the king.

Moor *see* Moar.

Moor, Moors, Moorish: these terms, properly applicable to certain natives of N. Africa, were applied by Portuguese, and their Dutch and English successors, to the Muhammadans of Asia, especially of India, but not always to the exclusion of the Muslims of the Eastern Archipelago.

Moracca pinda: Mēlaka Pindah (literally, "Malacca removed"), the name of an affluent of the Malacca river and hence of a *mukim* or village on its banks situated about 11 miles N. of Malacca town.

mouris *see* moeri.

mum: a species of beer, originally brewed at Brunswick. There is an interesting note on this in Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 407-420.

Nabob Mamet Aminchan: presumably Nawab Muhammad Amin Khan.

nachoda: Malay *nakhoda* (from Persian), Asiatic skipper (particularly of a vessel coming from W. Asia).

Naning, Nanning, Nanningh: Malay *naning*, a large species of wasp, the name of a territory lying to the N. of Malacca which under the Portuguese, Dutch and British was a vassal state until 1832 when it was conquered and brought under direct British administration.

Negrij: Malay *nēgēri* (from Sanskrit *nagari*), "country, district, town."

negro cloth, negros cloths: Indian cotton goods, small in size and cheap, perhaps the same as what the English records call "Guinea stuffs." They were in various patterns, some striped and some checked, usually blue and white, and usually made in Gujarat.

nelly: Tamil *nellu*, "rice in the husk, paddy."

nypbooms, nypboomen: Malay *nibong*, a species of palm used in house building (*oncosperma tigillaria*).

oebisen: Dutch double plural of Malay *ubi*, "tuber, yam."

Oedjan (and Oedjang) Salang (and Salangh and Salong) *see* Jongsalangk.

oelebalangh, oeleballangh: Malay *bulubalang*, Achinese *ulee-balang*, a title, originally implying military functions, but often (especially in Achin) extended to territorial and other chiefs.

Omoehang Scheij Boerij Sasakon, Omoehang Scheij Boerij Sysa Con Schauw Moehangh: possibly the first and last part are the Siamese *muang*, "town, province," the second seems to be Saiburi, which is however also the Siamese name for Kédah (buri meaning "town"); Schauw presumably represents the title Chao (*see* Monschiew). The rest of the title is unexplained. For the initial O *see* Opra.

Omon Chieww Packdie: *see* Monschieww. Pakdie represents a Siamese word meaning a faithful servant entrusted with some job or other, and is a common Siamese name.

Omonrath: a Siamese title, possibly for Mom Rajawangse (a title nowadays borne by the children of Momchaos, *see* Monschieww). As to the initial O *see* Opra.

Omonschieww *see* Monschieww.

onkas: Malay *ungka*, a small anthropoid ape, gibbon.

Ophir: the identification of Solomon's Ophir with the Malay Peninsula goes back to Josephus, but is decidedly improbable.

Opra, Opra Peth: originally Ok Phra, now simply Phra, a Siamese rank of nobility. Peth is probably a variant of Pet (*see* Mompét). The prefix Ok became reduced to O and was eventually dropped.

orang cacaya, orang caija, orang caya, orang kaya, orang caija, orangh caya: Malay *orang kaya* (also *kaya-kaya*, abbreviated *kékaya*), literally "rich man," a title of ministers of state, vassal or tributary chiefs, court officials, etc.

orang kaya bessar: the same as the last with the addition of Malay *bésar*, "great."

Ouboang In Sachon Cierij Joan Phalowan: conceivably the first word of this Siamese title may be a corruption of the Omoehang above. The last two words are clearly the Malay title (from Persian) Johan Pahlawan, "champion of the world." Cierij is probably the Sanskrit *śrī*, an honorific and auspicious prefix.

ounis ounissan: Malay *unusan*, "dues," apparently especially in connection with the sale of goods. (It is not quite clear whether the spelling ought not to be *bunusan*, from *bunus*, "unsheathing," the connection in meaning being obscure).

padacken, pedack, pedacken: Malay *pědaka*, a sort of lodge.

Padangh, Paddangh: Malay *padang*, "plain," the name of a district on the W. Coast of Johor, Malay Peninsula.

paducca: Malay *paduka*, an ingredient in many titles (originating from Sanskrit *pāduka*, "slippers, shoes," and referring to the exalted position of the titular, whose slippers were treated as higher than the head of the humble suppliant addressing him).

pagar, pagger: Malay *pagar*, "fence."

pagodas: the pagoda (of which the etymology is still in doubt) was a money of S. India, with a value varying in different places. At Pulicat it appears that the Dutch in their trading counted it as 105 stivers but valued it at 112 in paying their servants.

Pahan, Pahang, Pahangh: Pahang, the largest State in the Malay Peninsula, situated on the E. Coast, with its ancient capital about 3° 30' N. lat.

Paleacatta, Paleacatte: Pulicat, a port about 25 miles N. of Madras in lat. 13° 25' N., the first settlement of the Dutch in S. India.

Palimbang, Palimbangh: Palembang, a town and territory in the E. of S. Sumatra, about lat. 3° S.

Panagie, Pannage, Pannagie: Pēnajeh, or Pēnajis, another name for the Linggi river which forms part of the boundary of Malacca territory to the NW. and is about 21 miles NW. of Malacca town.

Pancalan Avoer: Malay *pangkalan*, "starting point, quay," etc., *aur*, "bamboo," the name of a place in Malacca territory where there was in 1678 a certain plantation.

Pankelan Banir: *see* the preceding word: the second part is the Malay *banir*, "buttress-root." A place-name in Malacca territory, unidentified.

Pankelan Nanning, Pankelan (Nanning): *see* Pancalan and Nanning. A point on the Malacca river within Nanning territory and about 12 miles N. by W. of Malacca town, near the Alor Gajah railway station.

Pankelaran: Pangkalan Rama, a village less than a mile N. of Malacca town. (*See* Panchalan Avoer).

Panglima: an Achinese title of certain chiefs subordinate to the Sultan. The word occurs also in Malay as *panglima* or *pēnglima*, with an originally military connotation.

Pangoor, Pongoor: Malay *punggor*, "a dead tree-trunk," a small river and hamlet about 4 or 5 miles ESE. of Malacca town.

Pankelan *see* Pankelan Nanning.

Pannaëij: Panai, a river in E. Sumatra which enters the Straits of Malacca about lat. 2° 30' N.

Pannage, Pannagie *see* Panagie.

Pantjoor: Malay *panchor*, "flowing of water through a conduit," a hill in Malacca territory about 14 miles N. of Malacca town.

Papeles borre: some kind of piece-goods from the E. Coast of S India, unexplained.

Papera: Pāk Phrah (commonly Papra) Strait, to the N. of Junk Ceylon (Ujong Salang) island and separating it from the mainland.

parang, parangh: Malay *parang*, "a woodcutter's large knife (for lopping and chopping)."

paraphure: paraph, a flourish or special design formerly used to confirm signatures, especially on diplomatic documents.

parese: "to appear," in the sense of to arrive. This may come from the Portuguese verb *apparecer*, which can bear that meaning.

Parit China: Malay *parit*, "ditch," China, "Chinese," a small river about 2 Miles E. of Malacca town.

Passaal, Passael: Malay *pasal*, a certain tree (*Ardisia odontophylla*), name of a small river and hamlet about 7 miles ESE. of Malacca town.

Patania, Patanij, Pattani, Pattanij: Patani, formerly a Malay State now a Siamese province, and also the name of a particular district within it, on the E. Coast of the Malay Peninsula, about lat. 6° 50' N.

patholen: Portuguese *patola*, Malay *pētola* (both from Malayalam *pattuda*), "a cloth of silk, or silk and cotton mixed, used for skirts, etc.

Pattani, Pattanij see Patania.

pecul, picol: Malay *pikul*, a unit of weight of 100 katis, nowadays standardized at 133½ lbs. avdp. but formerly variable in different places.

pedrero: Portuguese *pedreiro*, "a small piece of ordnance, mostly used in ships, to fire stones, etc.; it was managed by a swivel.

pedro porco: bezoar stone, from Portuguese *pedra de porco*, "pig stone" (also called *pedra de porco espinho*, "porcupine stone").

per gouverno: Portuguese *por governo*, "for the Government."

Pera, Perach: Malay *perak*, "silver," the name of the largest of the Malay States of the W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula and of a river (from which the state takes its name) whose mouth is in about lat. 4° N.

percallen: percallen were the best of the four staple calicoes of the Coromandel Coast (E. Coast of S. India). Their size was 8 yards by 1 yard. They were sold unbleached, bleached, or dyed (frequently red, with chay-root), and also much used

for printing. They became very popular in Europe (the French *percale*, "glazed or shining calico" indicates the nature of the stuff) but were not much handled in Asiatic markets, probably because they were too dear.

Perlingh, Perlín (which is a copyist's error for Perlín): Përling, a hamlet in Naning territory, about 16 miles NNW. from Malacca town.

Perpatti Sowattan, perpatty Souwatan: part of the title of one of the Naning chiefs, evidently imitated from the legendary Menangkabau lawgiver and chief Përpatèh Sabatang of olden days in Sumatra.

perpetuano: Portuguese *perpetuana*, "a sort of serge." The stuff in question was a kind of European woollen cloth, the name probably originally Italian.

petas Maleije: perhaps Malay *pita* (from Portuguese *fita*), "ribbon." The second part of the name means that they were of a kind saleable in Malay markets.

photassen *see* Fotas.

picol *see* pecul.

piece of eight *see* r<sup>a</sup>.

pinang, pinank: Malaya *pinang*, "the areca (commonly called betel) palm and its nut." (Betel is really the name of the vine (Malay *sireh*) of which the leaf is used in conjunction with this nut).

Pittij, Poelo Pittij: the name looks as if it represented a Malay original *pulau pètai*. This and the island of Maria must have been on the Sumatra side of the Straits and I conjecture they may be Pulau Mèdang and Pulau Rupert (lat. 2° N.), this being the narrowest part of the Straits near Malacca.

Poelo, Poulou: Malay *pulau*, "island," a hamlet about 6-7 miles due N. from Malacca town.

Poelo Pittij *see* Pittij.

Poelongs gobars: some kind of coverlets (*see* gobars). The first part of the name has not been traced.

Pongoelo: Malay Penghulu, "head man," the title of a Malay head of a village or small district.

Pongoor *see* Pangoor.

Porto Novo, Porto Novas: the first of these names (meaning either "New Port" or "New Oporto") was a Portuguese foundation on the E. Coast of S. India in lat. 11° 30'. The second is the Dutch adjective formed from it.

Poule Lada *see* Lada.

Poulou *see* Poelo.

prao, prauw: Malay *përabu*, "ship, boat."

Priaman: Pariaman, a port on the W. Coast of Sumatra, situated about lat.  $0^{\circ} 40'$  S.

pro fisco: literally "for the treasury," but perhaps in certain cases it may indicate payment of a bonus to the fiscal.

Providor Moor dos Contos: Portuguese *provedor mor dos contos*, "chief commissary of the exchequer."

provinie daalders: several provinces of the United Netherlands had their own coinage.

Quantam: Kuantan, the proper name of the Indragiri river (*see* Andragirij) and hence of an inland territory along its banks

Queda, Quedah: Kédah, a State on the W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula, of which the modern capital lies in about lat.  $6^{\circ} 7'$  N. on the river that gives its name to the State.

Quiate wood: probably teak (Malay *Kayu jati*). But "quiate" (= *Kiati*) must come from some other Indonesian language than Malay.

Quinam: Quinhon, or Kwi-nhon, a port on the E. Coast of Indo-China, about lat.  $14^{\circ}$  N.

rd., r<sup>n</sup>. of eight, real, real of eight, re<sup>n</sup>.: these all denote the (Spanish) dollar, also called "piece of eight." The rd<sup>n</sup>, rijxdaalder, riksdollar, rixdollar, was a dollar of the Holy Roman Empire (or one of its States) and of somewhat variable value, usually worth less than the Spanish dollar.

Racan, Raccan: Rēkan, a river and territory on the E. Coast of Sumatra, about lat.  $2^{\circ}$  N.

Radja-Deuwa: Malay *raja*, "prince," *dewa*, "divinity" (both words from the Sanskrit), title of a chief or minister of state.

Radja Ebrahim: Raja Ibrahim ("Abraham").

radja lilla wanghsa: Raja Lela Wangsa, a title. The last part is from Sanskrit *vamśa*, "descent, race." (*See* Capade moeda lilla).

Radja Mera: Raja Mērah, a title borne for many generations by the Chief (Pēnghulu) of Naning. It is noticeable, however, that in the 1641 Treaty with the Dutch the bearer of this title is not the principal personage among the Naning chiefs named as contracting parties. The then Chief (or Captain) being styled Toullella Palawan.

Rajah Sabrang: from Malay *sabērang*, "on the other side (of the river)." The prince who was commonly known by this title was a brother of the Sultan of Johor reigning in 1606 and subsequently inspired the composition of the well-known Malay classic, the *Sējarah Mēlayu*.



ramboutijn, ramboutyn: Malay *rambuti*, "a cloth of hairy texture." It was a very minor article of trade. The name evidently comes from Malay *rambut*, "hair of the head," but the final vowel is probably the Arabic or Persian adjectival termination, for the Malay suffix *-i* only makes verbs. Castanheda says that rambutis were of cotton and made in Bengal; but he may be mistaken.

rattang: Malay *rotan*, "rattan."

rd<sup>r</sup>. *see* r<sup>a</sup>.

real, real of eight, re<sup>s</sup>. *see* r<sup>a</sup>.

Riaformosa, Rio Formosa: Portuguese *rio formoso*, "beautiful river," the river of Batu Pabat, Johor, situated on the W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula about lat. 1° 48' N.

rijxdaalder *see* r<sup>a</sup>.

riksdollar *see* r<sup>a</sup>.

Ringij: a small stream about 14 miles ESE. from Malacca town. Though the name on the map is given as Rengek, it is more probably Rengit, which is the name of a small insect.

Rio Formosa *see* Riaformosa.

Rio Galere: presumably this is Selat Rupert, the strait between Pulau Rupert and Sumatra (about lat. 2 N.). *See* Pittij.

Riouw. Riau, commonly Rhio, the capital, in modern times, of the island of Bentan (*see* Bintang). Its proper name is Tanjung Pinang. The name Riau is also used for the whole island and for the group of islands of which it is the chief one.

rixdollar *see* r<sup>a</sup>.

Rombouw: Rĕmbau, a small state to the N. of Naning, founded by Menangkabau settlers from Sumatra and for a considerable period under the nominal suzerainty of Johor. Now a part of the Nĕgĕri Sĕmbilan.

Rombouwers: inhabitants of the aforementioned state.

rouba rouba: Malay *ruba-ruba*, "dues," especially harbour dues.

Rumbia: Malay *rĕmbia*, "the sago-palm," name of a *mukim* or village in Malacca territory about 9 miles NNW. from Malacca town.

sabandaar, sabandar, sabander, shahbandar: Malay *shahbandar*, from the Persian, literally "chief of the port." The title denotes a port officer concerned with the collection of dues, jurisdiction over the harbour and its shipping, and formerly over foreign traders, etc.

Sabangh: Sĕbang, a village in Naning territory. The name survives in two *mukims*, Padang Sĕbang, about 15 miles N. of Malacca town, and Pulau Sĕbang, about 2 miles further N.

Sabrangaja: Sabĕrang Gajah, a place in Malacca territory about 10 miles nearly due N. of Malacca town, to the westward of the river Malacca, or else a place of the same name about 7 miles NW. of Malacca town. The name seems to indicate the existence, formerly, of a ford used by elephants (Malay *gajah*). See Radja Sabrang.

Salalous: some kind of piece-goods from the E. Coast of S. India. The form *sallatto* is also found (and these were "blue and black"), but the word may be the same as the Telugu *sālū*, "cloth." A similar word in Hindustani denotes Turkey-red cloth.

salampoeris, salempoeris, sallempoeris: salempores, the fourth staple calico of the Coromandel Coast (E. Coast of S. India). Ordinary salempores were of the same grade as "Guinea cloth" but fine salempores cost nearly as much as moorees (see moeri). They were sold in pieces 16 yards long by over a yard wide, unbleached or bleached, sometimes dyed, perhaps occasionally printed. They were sold in moderate quantities in Asiatic markets and for a time exported very largely to Europe. The name means "weaver-town," but the town in question has not been identified, and the name may have been corrupted into this form so as to give it an obvious meaning.

Saletters, Zaletters: from the Malay *sĕlat*, "strait." The name (in various spellings) was applied very early in the 16th century by the Portuguese to the sea-gypsies (Malay *orang laut*), who wandered in their boats up and down the Straits of Malacca and only made more or less temporary settlements on shore.

sallempoeris see salampoeris.

Samadra moeris: see moeri. Perhaps Samadra represents Sumatra, not as a place of manufacture but as mart for these piece goods.

Sambilangs: Malay *pulau sĕmbilan*, "the nine islands," a group of small islands off the W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula opposite the mouth of the Perak river and about 15 miles distant from it, about lat. 4° N.

sampan see champian.

Sarassa gobars, Sarassa leij (or ley) de Coutchin, Sarassa maleije (or maleys): Malay *sĕrasah*, a word of doubtful origin but probably from Persian. This was a flowered chintz, printed on one or both sides, often with gold and silver thread, from the E. Coast of S. India, used for women's skirts, coatings, and veils, etc., also coverlets (see Celas, Gobars). Maleije means that these particular ones were suited for sale in Malay markets.

schelling, see shilling.

Schoupa: Malay *chupak*, a measure of capacity; four make one gantang (*see* gantangs).

Seacq, siaka: a river, State, and its capital, in the E. Coast region of Sumatra, the capital being about lat.  $0^{\circ} 30' N$

shahbandar *see* sabandaar.

shilling: the Dutch *schelling* was about half the value of the English one, being 6 stivers, about sixpence halfpenny.

Siaka *see* Seacq.

siap: Malay *chap*, "seal" (usually blackened and pressed on the document certified) from Hindustani *chhap*.

Sillida: Salida, a place on the W. Coast of Sumatra, somewhat to the S. of Padang (which last is about lat.  $1^{\circ} S.$ ).

Sincapura, Sincapure: Malay *Singapura* (from the Sanskrit, meaning "lion city"), Singapore.

sirij: Malay *sireh*, "betel" (*see* pinang).

Sirij: in titles, Malay *sēri* (Sanskrit *śrī*), an auspicious honorific. So Sirij Deuwa (Dewa), *see* Radja Deuwa; Sirij Paducca Tuan (*see* paducca).

Sittria: a title, probably identical with Malay *chētēria* (from Sanskrit *kshatriya*, a member of the warrior caste).

Slavenburgh: literally "slaves' castle."

Songa Pouta: Malay *sungai*, "river," putat, generic name of certain plants (*barringtonia*), name of a small tributary of the Malacca river and the land near its banks, about 4 miles NNW. from Malacca town.

Songhoedjongh, Songcoedjong: Sungai Ujong, one of the States of the Nēgēri Sēmbilan with a coastline on the W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula about lat.  $2^{\circ} 30' N$ . The modern form of the name is due to false etymology, from the older form represented in the above Dutch spelling, which can be traced through intermediate forms to an original Sang Hyang Hujung, "holy cape," mentioned in the Nāgara Krētūgama, a Javanese poem of the middle of the 14th century.

Songoe Baroe: Malay *sungai*, "river," baru, the name of certain plants (*e.g.* *Hibiscus tiliaceus*), name of a river about 18 miles to the NW. of Malacca town and of four *mukims* or villages through which it passes.

Sourat, Souratta, Suratta: Surat, an ancient commercial town, at one time the most important in India, situated on the Tapti river in lat.  $21^{\circ} 12' N.$ , a few miles inland from the W. Coast of S. India.

ss: *see* sz;

St. Hieronimo Pequenino, St. Hieronimus: St. Jeronimo, about 2-3 miles N. of Malacca town. The first name means "small St. Jerome."

stiver: Dutch *stuiver*, a coin worth slightly over a penny.

suassa: Malay *suasa*, "gold alloyed with some other metal, usually copper or bronze."

Succadana: Sukadana, a port on the W. Coast of Borneo, about lat.  $1^{\circ} 12' S$ .

Sultan Agamath Sach Nasroddin bardaulath: Sultan Ahmad Shah Nasruddin bērdaulat. The last word is a Malay adjective connoting majesty, and the like, derived from the Arabic *daulat*, "good fortune, wealth, power," etc.

Sultans: this title (used in modern times of most of the Malay rulers in the Peninsula) is applied in the treaty with Achin to the vassal rulers of subordinate states under Achinese supremacy, which at that time extended much further to the S. on both sides of Sumatra than it did in modern times. Locally these chiefs bore various titles.

Suratta *see* Sourat.

sz; ss:: this termination (= *ssen*) at the end of proper names represents an abbreviation of *zoon*, "son," forming patronymic names like our Johnson, Thomson, etc.

tael, taijl, tayl, teijl, teyl, theijl: Malay *tabil*, primarily a unit of weight and then usually one-sixteenth of a *kati* (and therefore nowadays standardized at one ounce and a third advp.), but the *kati* itself was variable and in some places and for special purposes contained 20 *tabils*; secondly, a unit of value, e.g. as measured in gold dust or tin.

Taijoan: Taiwan: a port on the W. Coast of the island of Formosa, about lat.  $23^{\circ} N$ .; the name was also applied to the island as a whole.

Tampin: a village and territory just beyond the N. frontier of Naning territory about 19 miles N. (by a little W.) from Malacca town.

Tanasserij, Tanassery, Tanassirij, Tannassarij, Tannasserij: Tenasserim, a town in S. Burma, about lat.  $12^{\circ} N$ ., also the whole extension of S. Burma from about  $17^{\circ}$  to  $10^{\circ} N$ . The origin of the name is in doubt, but the final *m* is merely the sign of the usual Portuguese nasalization, not an original part of the word.

Tandon, Tonda: evidently a place in Sumatra somewhere near Kēbon (*see* Cabon), but not identified.

tanga, tange: a coin, *see* crusado.

Tanjong, Tanjongh: a place in E. Sumatra, probably Tanjong Balai, the capital of Asahan, lying on the river of that name a few miles upstream from its mouth, about lat.  $3^{\circ} N$ .

Tanjong Jahatij: Tanjong Jati, the W. point of the island of Bēngkalis (*see* Bencalis) at the W. entrance to Brouwer (or Brewer) Strait.

Tanjong Pantjor: Tanjong Panchor, evidently Pulau Panchor (otherwise called Pulau Rangsang) an island near the E. entrance of Brouwer Strait, about lat. 1° N.

Tanjong Parpar Serattas: this would seem to be Pulau Rantau (or P. Tēbing Tinggi) S. of the preceding.

Tanna Mera: Malay *tanah merah*, "red earth," (1) a place near the Malacca river, about 8 miles N. of Malacca town, (2) a place near the seashore about 9 miles WNW. of the same town.

Tannasarij, Tannasscrij, *see* Tanasserij.

tape chiindos, tape grandes, tape grandos, tape leij de Coutchiñ, tape quitchi, tape ramrat, tape sarassa, tape sarassa telpocan: Malay *tapeh*, Javanese *tapih*, "skirt worn by women" (equivalent to the Malay *sarong*, except that this is also used of men), Portuguese *grande*, "big," Malay *kēchil*, "small," and *see* Chiindos, Celas, and Sarassa. Ramrat and telpocan are unexplained.

Taprobane: this is undoubtedly Ceylon (in Ptolemy), but the erroneous conjecture that it was meant for Sumatra has often been made, even in modern times.

Tartars: the Manchus, who conquered China in the 17th century.

Taypa: a suburb of Malacca town, unidentified.

teijl, teyl, theijl *see* tael.

Tico: Tiko, Tiku, a port on the W. Coast of Sumatra, about lat. 0° 20' S.

Toedjong, Tudon: Tēdong, a small river, and also a *mukim* or village about 11 miles ESE. from Malacca town.

Tommagon: Malay *tēmāggong*, "title of a high minister of state."

Tonda *see* Tandon.

Tonquin: Tonquin or Tongking, the most northern part of the E. Coast of Indo-China, formerly an independent kingdom.

Toulella Palawan: To' Lela Pahlawan; To' is an abbreviation of Malay *dato'*, "chief; for Lela *see* Capade; Pahlawan is from the Persian, meaning "champion."

tra, traes: Malay *tēra*, "a royal seal," and hence royal letters purporting to convey favours or privileges.

Trang, Trangh: Trang, a town on the W. Coast of Lower Siam, about lat. 7° 20' N.



## 232 Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca

Tualan: Malay *tualang*, "a large tree on which wild bees make their nest," name of a place in Malacca territory about 7 miles N. by E. of Malacca town.

Tudon, *see* Toedjong.

Tumagan: a place in Malacca territory where the Dutch E. I. Co. had an estate, unidentified.

Viringin: Malay *biringin*, name of a tree (*Ficus benjamina*), a village and *mukim* in Malacca territory about 10 miles N. of Malacca town.

Wicker wandijs: some kind of piece goods, presumably from Vikravandi, a place in the South Arcot District, S. India, about long. 79° 34' E., lat. 12° 2' N.

Wingurla: Vengurla, a place in S. Konkan, W. Coast of S. India, in lat. 15° 52' N.

Zaletters *see* Saletters.